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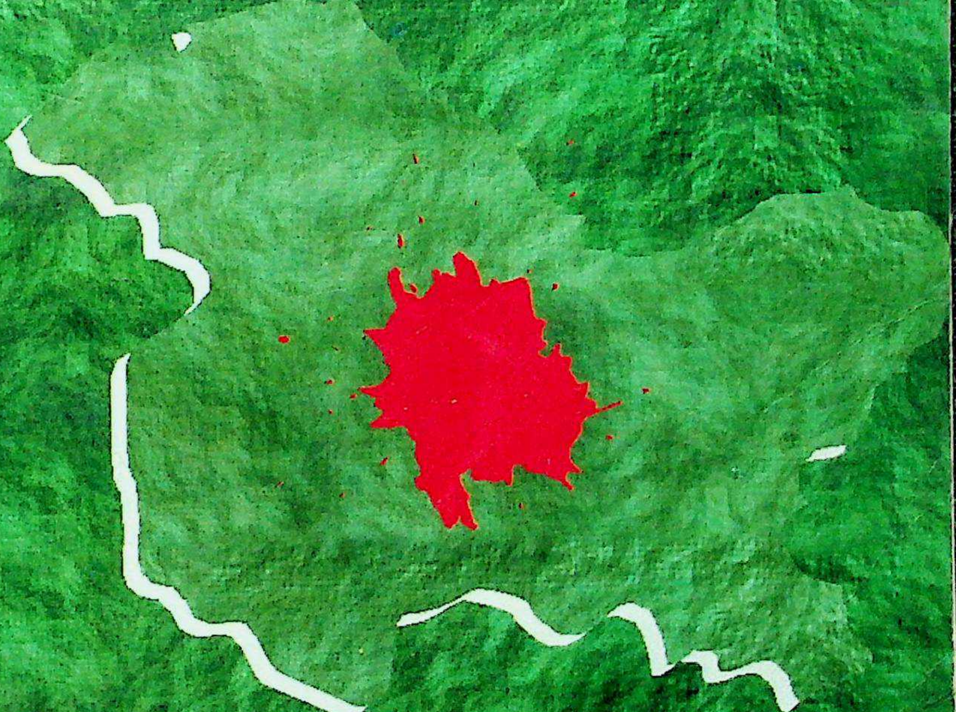
The Truth Foretold



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Prem Nath Bhat

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

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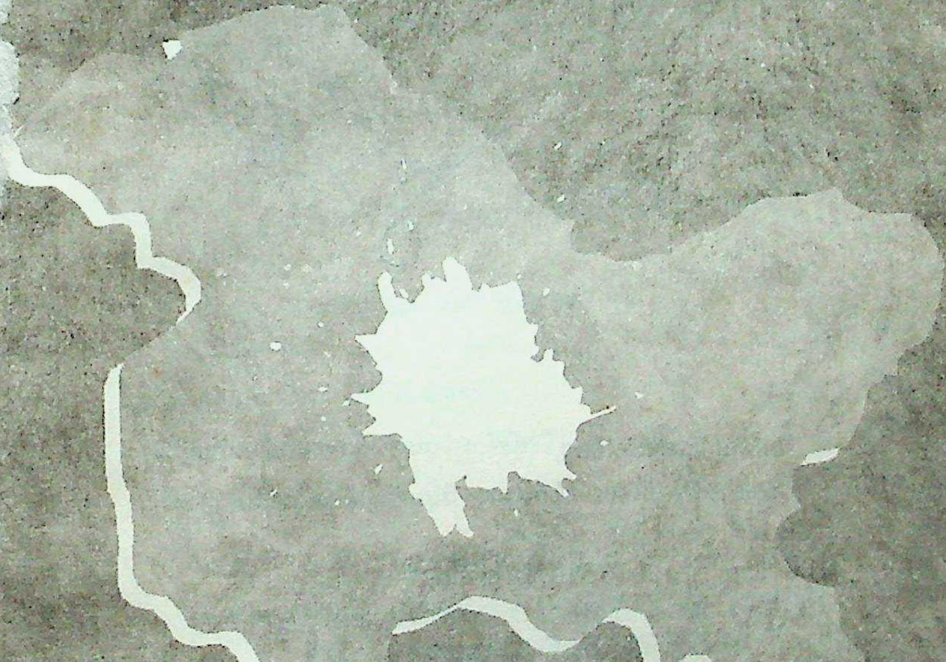

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Prem Nath Bhat

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

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Preface

Blessed are the sons of the soil who sacrificed their all to uphold the dignity, sovereignty and integrity of their motherland for they love a life of ideals and noble actions, not fame or reward. Thus opines, Lord Sri Krishna in the Srimad Bhagavad Gita-

"Karmajam buddhiyukta hi
phalam tyaktva manishinah,
janmabandah vinirmuktah
padam gacchanty anamayam". II. 51

(With the intellect set in the Karma Yoga and renouncing the fruits of actions, the wise ones, freed from the body, attain the Supreme goal).

The blood of the martyr is the seed of glory of a nation, the history of a nation is the story of the sacrifice of its martyrs. Pandit Prem Nath Bhat, Advocate, was one such martyr, who loved his motherland, lived for her and always strove for her glory.

Swargiya Bhat Saheb, as he was known popularly, was a thinker far ahead of his times. He had foretold certain happenings to occur and warned the Government and others concerned to take careful stock of the situation, which was prevailing in the valley, before the present turmoil could strangulate the peaceful atmosphere. This inner yearning, to save the country, cost him his life, when he was brutally assassinated by terrorists in his home–town Anantnag in daylight on 27th

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December 1989. A fearless voice was silenced but his brave and uncorrupted face at that moment flashed the message " You could kill me, but not my ideal of Indianness".

Pt. Prem Nath Bhat, a noble patriot and an able Advocate, enjoyed the tremendous confidence and respect of all communities. He was born on 5th December 1932 in a middle class family at Anantnag, having a traditional background of distinct Kashmiri Pandit Culture.

He was an excellent writer, orator and above all a dedicated missionary who worked for the cause of nationalism based on the edifice of the spiritual and cultural heritage of India. Alas! the community and nationalist forces of Kashmir were deprived of him at a crucial juncture when he was most needed. A conscientious thinker and a social reformer of Hindu cultural moorings, his intensive striving had equally been to strengthen the faith of the majority community of Kashmir in the true sense of the secular and democratic institutions of India, by his own example and healthy interaction with the honest elements among the Muslims within his reach.

Being a strong votary of unity in diversity in Jammu and Kashmir State, he desired to see the barriers of separation, built by communal, caste and regional consideration in the minds of people, demolished through the positive ideology of national unity.

There were many great men who influenced his personal life viz, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda and others. He was personally influenced by Swami Ashokananda, a direct disciple of Ma Sarada Devi and founder–saint of Sri Ramakrishna Maha -Sammelana Ashrama, Acchabal Block, Anantnag District. After Swami Ashokananda's Nirvana, the Ashrama was taken over by Vivekananda Kendra, Kanyakumari.

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It was during those days, Bhat Saheb came very close to Sri Eknathji Ranade, the spirit behind Vivekananda Kendra, Kanyakumari. To his distinction, Sri Premnathji became the first chairman of Nagadandi Ashrama. For many years, he worked hard and took personal interest in spreading the Ramakrishna - Vivekananda ideology in the entire valley. He was the chief patron of Vivekananda Kendra, Anantnag branch, till he became a martyr.

His professional engagements did not deter him from finding pleasure in adding to his pool of knowledge. Being a voracious reader, he tried to drink deep the cup of wisdom, whether from the East or West, by making a comparative study of great religions. He had well received the thesis of the great German philosopher, Emmanuel Kant: "The essence of religion consists in the realisation, that moral obligations are supreme."

During his lifetime he wrote articles on Kashmir and allied subjects which were published in various newspapers, weeklies and magazines. His associates, friends and admirers wanted that his writings should be collected and brought out in a book form. Therefore keeping their sentiments in view and also the need of the hour some of his writings are presented in this edition titled **"The Truth Foretold".**

Lives of great men all remind us
We make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.
Footprints which perhaps another

Sailing over Life's troubled main,
Some forlorn and ship-wrecked brother,
Seeing may take heart again.

Secretary
Prem Nath Bhat Memorial Trust

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It was during those days Bose Sahab came very close to Sri Eknath Ranade, the spirit behind Vivekananda Kendra Kanyakumari. To his distinction, Sri Premnath became the first chairman of Nagaland Ashrama. For many years, he worked hard and took personal interest in spreading the Ramakrishna - Vivekananda ideology in the entire valley. He was the chief patron of Vivekananda Kendra, Anantnag branch till he became a martyr.

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Foreward

"They shall not have died in vain."

–Abraham Lincoln

On December 27, 1989, when the afternoon sun of a cold wintry day was fast losing its warmth in the sacred town of Anantnag, a voice of sanity, a voice resounding with patriotic fervour, a voice of concern for the future of the country, was stilled for ever by the bloody and brutal bullets that began to be unleashed in the Kashmir Valley by the combined forces of internal subversion and externally-sponsored terrorism. That voice was of a nationalist, a perceptive journalist and an indefatigable social worker, Prem Nath Bhat, who drew inspiration not only from the great vision of India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari but also from the service-oriented message of Swami Vivekananda. Till the last breath in his body, Prem Nath Bhat continued to serve his country, his community and all those who were in need of succour and support. His powerful pen, till the last movement of his hand, remained at the disposal of all positive causes of the public.

Death is a cruel reality of human existence. But it is not as powerful as it is made out to be. It cannot take away either the inspired thought of an elevated soul or the noble deeds of a motivated mind, particularly when they are fertilised by the blood and bones of martyrdom. Persons like Prem Nath Bhat do not really die. They, in fact, vanquish death rather than death vanquishing them.

By publishing this commemorative volume, Shri Prem Nath Bhat Memorial Trust, besides honouring a patriot and nationalist, would be earning the gratitude of a community in distress and also strengthening the forces that weave the people into a strong national fabric. It would remind them of the

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invisible bonds that exists amongst the different regions of the country and also impel them to do something solid for alleviating the sufferings of the Pandits who had earlier made the Valley one of the greatest nurseries of Indian culture and civilization.

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During my lecture tours both within the country and abroad, I have noticed, with a great deal of anguish in my heart, that few really know who the Kashmiri Pandits are, what is their history, to what extent their recent exodus from the Valley has been misrepresented by some of the country's one-eyed columnists and in what manner their tragedy has been compounded by the unprincipled politics of appeasement and vote-banks. The considerations of truth and justice as well as the dictates of national integration demand that the public should be made aware of full facts and the background of the matter.

About 5,000 years ago, there existed a highly developed community, with a "profound spiritual culture", along the banks of River Saraswati, which according to the Vedas, was the Mother of Rivers. The Rig Veda (II 41.16) speaks of it as "The best mother, the best river, the best Goddess".

Recent researches, particularly of Dr. V.S. Wakankar, conducted with sophisticated instruments, such as multi-spectoral scanner, have clearly established that Saraswati was not a mythological river. It actually existed and flowed from the foothills of the Himalayas, through what is now Thar desert, to the Run of Kutch on the Arabian Sea. It dried up because its main tributary, Sutlej, changed its course, approximately at right angle, consequent to geological changes.

After the drying up of Saraswati, the community, which developed on its banks, dispersed. A section of this community comprising Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, moved towards the mountains and finally settled in the Kashmir Valley.

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Amongst the settlers, the Brahmins soon acquired a pre-eminent position, largely because of their great learning in mathematics, philosophy, astrology and law. In course of time, they came to be known as Kashmiri Pandits.

The mother tongue of the Kashmiri Pandits was Sanskrit, and they made the Valley a great nursery of Hindu culture. Many schools of thought were developed, including the celebrated Trikka philosophy, popularly called Kashmir Saivism. The tradition of **guru-sishya** was firmly established. Every Pandit student had to learn at least four Vedas, six Angas, besides astrology, music and sciences. All this has justifiably given the Valley the name of Saradapeeth — the seat of Sarada, the Goddess of Learning.

The kings of Kashmir and those of the other parts of North India had strong links and were motivated by the same type of cultural and political aspirations. Gonanda, the first known king of Kashmir, was a relation and friend of Jarasandha, king of Magadha. He was followed by 44 kings. Thereafter, Asoka (272-232 BC) extended his control over Kashmir. Three centuries later, the Kushans established their rule. They were followed by a number of Hindu kings, including Abhimanyu, Vibhishana and Indrajit. Their names, which are familiar to the readers of Ramayana, suggest close affinity between kashmir and other parts of India. Lalitaditya (721-761) who built the famous Temple of Martanda, in honour of the Sun-god, and who could be compared to Napoleon in his military skill; Avantivarman (855-883) who was a great patron of men of letters and founder of Avantipur; and Jaya Simha (1127-1155) who effectuated a "great renaissance", were the three outstanding kings whose contribution to Indian culture, religion, philosophy, art and architecture is truly remarkable. They were admirably served by the Kashmiri Pandits. It has appropriately been remarked that "ancient India has nothing more worthy of its early civilization than the grand ruins of Kashmir".

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In the early fourteenth century, with the conversion of the then ruler, Rinchana, Muslim rule commenced. The Pandit community underwent its most tragic phase during the regime of Sultan Sikander (1389–1413) who came to be known as "But-shikan", destroyer of idols. "There was no city, no town, no village, no wood, where the temples of gods remained unbroken." The Sultan even tried to pull down the famous temple of Martand. A relentless campaign for conversion to Islam was launched, under the charge of the Sultan's chief minister, Malik Saif-ud-Din, who, ironicaly, was himself a Kashmiri Brahmin before his conversion. As Ferishta recorded, "Many Brahmins, rather than abandon their religion or their country, poisoned themselves; some emigrated from their native homes, while a few escaped the evil of banishment by becoming Mohammedans". **Rajtarangini** of Jonaraja portrayed the same tragic reality in these words: "The Brahmins fled. The difficult terrains through which they passed, the scanty food they ate, the painful illness and the torments they suffered during their lifetime removed the fear of hell from their minds. Only eleven Pandit families were left."

Maybe the number eleven is only symbolically true; but the fact remains that at the end of Sultan Sikander's rule, the Kashmiri Brahmins were reduced to a microscopic minority. Sikander's policy was continued by his son, Sultan Ali Shah. He too remained under the influence of the chief minister Saif-ud-Din.

The next Sultan, Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D. 1420–70), turned out to be the most benevolent ruler that Kashmir had known. It has been correctly remarked that "history can give few examples where the policy was so completely reversed by the successor. Where Sikander destroyed, Zain-ul-Abidin restored; where the former banished, the latter recalled." Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, following that of Sikander and Ali Shah, was, in the

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words of historian Shrivara, "like the cooling sandal paste after the heat of summer in a desert had departed."

In the end of the fifteenth century, under the influence of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, the Kashmiri Brahmins were once again persecuted. The fifteenth century, thus, turned out to be one of the most fateful periods in the history of Kashmiri Pandits. Before this century, the community was intact and divided into 199 exogamous 'gotras', the members of which claimed descent from the 'rishi' whose name the 'gotra' bore. To these 'gotras' were now added the distinction between the Kashmiri Pandits who withstood the persecution and stayed in the Valley and those migrated and later on returned. The former were known as 'Malmasis' and the latter 'Bhanmasis'.

By the time the **Mughal rule** commenced in Kashmir, the Pandits had regained their poise and position. They identified themselves with Mughal manners and modes of administration. Their proficiency in Persian, the court language, proved a great asset. The Pandits became the backbone of the structure of governance at the middle level. Their prestige in society was also enhanced by Emperor Akbar's visit to the Martand Temple and offering a cow, with gardlands of gold and jewels, as a gift. From the insignificant figure of 11, their number also increased. Their number was estimated by Abul Fazal, during Akbar's regime, at 2,000.

Influenced by the narrow and fanatic outlook of Aurangazeb, the Mughal Governor Iftikhar Khan (1671-1675) started the persecution of Kashmiri Pandits, with the objective of securing their conversion to Islam. Agonised by Iftikhar Khan's relentless campaign, a group of Pandits led by Kirpa Ram Dutt of Mattan went to the Holy Cave of Amarnath to pray before Lord Shiva and seek His blessings in their hour of distress.

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At the cave, the leader of the group dreamt that the Immortal Lord (Amarnath) instructed him to seek guidance from Guru Tegh Bahadur. Accordingly, a deputation of Kashmiri Pandits went to Chak Nanki/Anandpur Sahib to meet Guru Tegh Bahadur.

The petition presented to the Guru on May 25, 1675, said: "We suffer great atrocities, sacred threads (janeus) are forcibly taken off our persons. Cows are killed. Janeus, a maund and a quarter in weight, are snapped in a single day."

Saddened by the plight of the Pandits, Guru Tegh Bahadur became pensive. At that moment, Gobind, the Guru's son, entered the room. "Why are you, dear father, in such deep thought?", enquired the nine-year old lad. "The present-day sad state of affairs– the state of Kaliyug – would abate only if a pure and pious soul comes forward for supreme sacrifice", reflected the Guru.

"Who can be more pure and pious than you?", queried Gobind. This comment convinced Guru Tegh Bahadur that the young boy was fit to assume the responsibility of Guruship. He made up his mind to put his life at stake.

He advised the Pandits to go and tell the Mughal Governor and his Emperor that Tegh Bahadur was their Guru and if he could convert their Guru to Islam, they would all accept conversion.

The Guru's stand so infuriated the Mughal establishment that Aurangazeb ordered his arrest and, subsequently, his execution on November 11,1675. The Guru died calmly. But a volcanic upsurge erupted in the hearts of men and women, and history underwent a revolutionary change. The Great Khalsa emerged on the scene and sparrows turned into hawks. Thus, the tiny spark that later on turned into a great fire and warmed numerous souls, had its origin in Kashmir.

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Guru Tegh Bahadur's response to the kashmiri Pandits not only produced a revolutionary impact on the Sikh religion and outlook but also strengthened the social and cultural forces which facilitated national integration. And the Kashmiri Pandits to date feel one with the Sikhs.

On April 16, 1995, about 1,200 of them from different parts of the country and abroad went to Gurudwaras Sis Ganj and Bharura (Anandpur Sahib) and installed a shilalekh which, when translated, reads: "O thee, the fountainhead of India's civilization, we pay our obeisance to you... You created history by your epoch-making martyrdom. Once again, we are facing extinction. The forces of fundamentalism, drawing sustenance from timid politics of the Indian State, have forced us out of our homeland. O Divinity Incarnate, awaken the spirit of the nation."

Later on, Kirpa Ram Dutt became a follower of the Sikh faith and died fighting the Mughal army in the Battle of Chamkaur (1705).

After Aurangazeb's death, the Mughal Empire began to crumble and the Afghans established their hegemony over Kashmir. The last Afghan Governor, Jabbar Khan, persecuted the Pandits relentlessly. A Pandit nobleman, Birbal Dhar, unable to see any longer the Kashmiris being tormented and tortured, approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help and provided him with valuable information about the strength and deployment of Jabbar Khan's forces. Ranjit Singh had earlier made two unsuccessful attempts to capture kashmir, once in 1812 and again in 1814. This time, success greeted Ranjit Singh. The Sikh forces, under the able command of Misser Dewan Chand, defeated Jabbar Khan at Shopiyan on July 15, 1819, and triumphantly marched into the capital the next day.

The Sikh rule in Kashmir lasted only 27 years (1819-46). It was followed by about 100 years of Dogra regime in the administration of which British Government had a decisive say

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in all important matters. During all these years, a sizeable number of Kashmiri Pandits migrated to different parts of northern India. The migration was sometimes sizeable, and at other times in trickles, depending upon the treatment of Pandits in the State and opportunities elsewhere.

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After Independence, the Kashmiri Pandits acquired a position that could best be described as one of 'strange antithesis'. While its members acquired key positions in the new power-structure at the Centre, in the Valley they began to be haunted by a sense of insecurity which abated on some occasions and intensified on others, depending upon internal developments in the Valley. A quirk of history as it is, quite a few problems that have arisen for this community in the Valley, particularly the ones that it is currently facing, are results of the policies that the ruling elites of this community pursued at the Central level.

The politics of appeasement and attitude of permissiveness towards forces that bred separatism created an environment in the state in which the pro-Union forces were looked down upon with hostility and local minorities were subjected to discriminatory treatment. In recruitment to public services, communal considerations came into play, and the number of Kashmiri Pandits was restricted through unwritten regulations which took into account the percentage of the population of different communities in the total population. Merit, on the basis of which larger number of Pandits would have got the jobs or admission to professional colleges and seats of learning, was relegated. This led to heart-burning and occasional public agitations. For example, in 1967, incensed by the disadvantages in the social, economic and educational fields, they launched an agitation. But it had hardly any impact on the mind of the political rulers at the local as well as Central level. At the heart of the Kashmiri Pandit's resentment was the issue whether in free India of which the State of Jammu and

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Kashmir was an integral part, constitutional provisions would be respected or communal representation would continue in public services.

Unfortunately, whenever Pandits voiced even their genuine grievances or made representations to the Central Government, they were criticised as being untrue to the Kashmiri cause or identity. In his autobiography, **Atish-e-chinar**, Sheikh Abdullah has virtually labelled them as fifth columnists and spies of the Centre.

Whatever be the vicissitudes of Kashmiri Pandits' history and howsoever unkind fate might have been to them, all that happened in the past pale into insignificance as comapred to the sufferings they have been undergoing since the middle of 1989. As a part of overall framework of terrorism and subversion in Kashmir, practically the entire community, totalling about 250,000 was made to flee the Valley. The strategy adopted was to "Kill one and frighten one thousand" and simultaneously arouse religious frenzy and hatred against the Pandits by describing them as "informers of the Centre and agents of Brahminical imperialism".

When the storm was gathering, perceptive minds like Prem Nath Bhat clearly saw what was in store. They expressed their concern in no uncertain terms. As always, Prem Nath Bhat was in the forefront. He voiced his apprehensions in public statements and put them to pen. For example, in his article titled, **Kashmir turns into Punjab**, (1.5), he wrote: "The call given for the bandh by the militants on August 17 to mark the first death anniversary of late General Zia Ul Haq was total and unprecedented. Some masked militants also set the national tricolour on fire. Incidents of stone pelting and flag burning were witnessed in other districts of the Valley too... The terrorists acts have been taking place, quite frequently now. Bomb blasts have become the order of the day... It is time government

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wakes up and shows its iron hand!”. Likewise, in his article on **‘Attack on Minority Shrines’** (1.6 March 17, 1989), he referred to the large scale disturbances on February 11, 1989, which was observed as “Maqbool Butt day”, and bewailed the indifference of the State and Central Governments. He, **inter alia**, commented: “It is unfortunate that our Home Minister had not the courage to tell Dr. Farooq to remain in the Valley and ensure that anti-Indian forces do not succeeed in their second attempt. The reports regarding preparations for the coming Bandh were pouring in the winter capital which normally would induce seriousness in the Chief Minister but it had a reverse effect and Dr. Farooq planned his ten days foreign trip and left the State to the pro-Pak mercenaries.”

Here, it is pertinent to point out that there was no exaggeration in such writings of Prem Nath Bhat. They were no different from the independent assessment made by me from different sources as Governor of the State. For example, in my letter to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in April 1989, I had strongly urged him to take immediate action. I had written: “The stituation is fast deteriorating. It has almost reached a point of no return. For the last five days, there have been acts of large-scale violence, arson, firing, hartals, casualties and what not. Things have truly fallen apart. Talking of the Irish crisis, British Prime Minister Disraeli had said: ‘It is potatoes one day and the Pope next’. Similar is the present position in Kashmir. Yesterday it was ‘Maqbool Butt’; today it is ‘Satanic Verses’; tomorrow it will be ‘repression day’ and the day after it will be something else. The Chief Minister stands isolated. He has already fallen–politically as well as administratively; perhaps, only constitutional rites remain to be perfomred. His clutches are too soiled and rickety to support him. Personal aberrations have also eroded his public standing. The situation calls for effective intervention. Today may be timely, tomorrow may be too late.”

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Soon thereafter, on completion of my tenure, I relinquished charge. In the absence of any firm action and on account of a deaf ear being turned to repeated warnings of Prem Nath Bhat and the like, terrorism acquired sharper teeth and conditions deteriorated so speedly that the second half of 1989 witnessed 1,600 violent incidents, including 350 bomb blasts. Eminent Kashmiri Pandits were particularly targetted. Tikka Lal Taploo and Judge Ganjoo were brutally murdered in broad day-light. Prem Nath Bhat, in his write-up, **"Gunning Down of Taploo–Why?"** (1.10) mourned the loss of an 'indomitable crusader', little knowing that the inexcusable casualness of the authorities to the design of the subversives would soon cause his own indomitable voice to be silenced for ever. And his article (1.11), **"Shall India Lose Kashmir?"**, is an eloquent description of this casualness. He wrote: "The humiliation suffered by Bharat when, out of some terrorist group in Kashmir, five hard core dreaded terrorists were set free in exchange for release of the daughter of the Home Minister, has set in motion, the grim prospect of washing our hands, from this part of the country, the only Muslim majority State. Since this release, the terrorist activities have been stepped up and not a day passes without a B.S.F. or C.R.P. Jawan being killed or grievously injured. Only yesterday, the 25th December of 1989 - Christmas Day - 4 C.R.P.F. Jawans were killed at Batmaloo and Khanyar and many seriously injured. Our paramilitary soldiers are made to look like rats as they have no powers to shoot back unless ordered by the duty Magistrate." One of his last reflections was most pertinent: "Can V.P. Singh Government displease the Babri leaders by being tough with Kashmiri Muslims who are not interested to remain with india. The leftist leaning of V.P. Singh should have taught him lessons in liquidating counter revolutionaries but it seems that clinging to power is more important to him than to undertake a major surgery in Kashmir."

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The tragedy inherent in Prem Nath's brutal assassination was heightened by the poignancy that followed it. Even the religious ceremony required to be performed on the tenth day, could not be performed. The community was terror-stricken, and the local administration had either crossed over to the militants' side or was immobilised by fear. No priest could be arranged. When a relative of the departed soul deputised for the priest and tried to conduct the ceremony, the militants, despite curfew, created an intimidatory atmosphere around the house. Even an explosive device was planted in the compound of the house during the period of mourning.

Considerations of safety compelled the family to immediately shift to Jammu. And exodus of the Pandit's community, which had already begun as the clouds of terrorism and subversion thickened over the Valley from mid-1989 onwards, increased manifold. Those like poet Serwanand Koul 'Premji', who hoped against hope and remained behind, suffered the most terrible fate. A few days afterwards, Premi and his young son were kidnapped from their village of Shali in Anantnag, tortured in the most inhuman way and done to death in a manner that would put even primitive savagery to shame.

It was in such an atmosphere of fright and terror that virtually the entire community of the Kashmiri Pandits was forced to flee the Valley. Most of the pandits' families are presently living in the miserable camps of Jammu, Delhi and a few other places.

When viewed in all its dimensions, the current phase of Kashmiri Pandits' misfortune is the most calamitous. The grim tragedy is compounded by the equally grim irony that one of the most intelligent, subtle, versatile and proud community of the country is being virtually reduced to extinction in free India. It is suffering not under the fanatic zeal of medieaval Sultans like Sikander or under the tyrannical regime of the Afghan

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Governors, but under the supposedly secular rulers of Free India.

That during the past five years none of the Prime Ministers – Mr. V.P. Singh, Mr. Chandra Shekhar and Mr. Narasimha Rao – felt the prick of conscience to visit any of these camps shows how compassion has completely dried up in the minds of the Indian rulers. Since the poor Kashmiri Pandits have no balance in their vote banks, they are not much bothered about.

What is worse, a section of politicians, some so-called human rights bodies and some biased and one-eyed columnists, whose shallowness is matched only by their obstinacy to suppress documented facts and contemporaneous records, have been, 'Goebbels-like', spreading the canard that the migration of the Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley was induced. They want the nation to believe that it was not the fearsome environment, it was not the brutalised landscape, it was not the ruthless Kalashnikov of the marauders, it was not the bomb explosions and fires, it was not the threatening telephonic calls, it was not the hysterical exhortations for 'Jihad' from hundreds of loudspeakers fitted on the mosques, it was not the 'Tirana-e-Kashmir' of having Quran in one hand and a rifle in the other, it was not the fallouts of grave human tragedies of P.N. Bhats, N.K. Ganjus, Tikkus and Premis, it was not the sinister design of 'killing one and frightening 1,000', but the inducement of the trucks that had impelled the Kashmiris to abandon their homes and hearths in the cool and crisp Valley and to move to the hot and inhospitable camps of Jammu.

Prem Nath Bhat's articles, contemporaneously written, portraying facts and unfolding, at the cost of his life, the game-plan of the subversives, expose the utter falsehood of the propaganda about induced migration, and also show how the negative forces operating at various levels and in diverse ways have caused immense damage to the country.

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Bhat's contribution has been truly remarkable. He served his community and protected and enhanced its culture. He strengthened the forces of national cohesion and spread the humanitarian message of Vivekananda in the Valley. His oratory had a tremendous impact on the Kashmiri masses. He established friendly and cordial relations with positive elements in Muslim community and earned their respect and affection.

Abraham Lincoln, in his famous Gettysburg Address, said: "From these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion – that we here highly resolve that they shall not have died in vain". It is now for the nation to ensure that the supreme sacrifice of patriots like Prem Nath Bhat do not go in vain. The Valley must be saved and the historic vision of India from Kanyakumari to Kashmir preserved and strengthened.

JAGMOHAN

(Former Governor, J & K)

Member of Parliament

(Rajya Sabha)

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SECTION - I

KASHMIR SCENARIO PRIOR TO DECEMBER 1989

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1.1 THE INSURGENCY IN KASHMIR MASTERMINDED FROM SAUDI ARABIA AND PAKISTAN

The British left the country in 1947 but so divided the Indian Nation that even after thirtyeight years of independence, we are reaping the fruits of their perfidy in the form of separatist slogans for Khalistan, Churchistan and even Pakistan (as in Kashmir). Through their imperialist agent, Lord Mountbatten, they struggled hard to gift away Kashmir to Pakistan. But when the Maharaja refused to accede to Pakistan after hectic persuasıon, they instigated an armed invasion of Kashmir, in 1947 under the garb of 'Raiders" attack and finally succeeded in internationalising the Kashmir issue by pressurising Pandit Nehru to refer it to the U.N.O, which till date is dominated by Anglo-American bloc.

After the Chinese aggression of 1962, this State has become more vulnerable, as a large chunk of the territory of Jammu & Kashmir is under the illegal occupation of not only Pakistan but China also. Pakistan has always been eager to grab the rest of it, but its aggression has not yielded any result because of the might of Indian Army and the crushing blow dealt by it to the aggressors in 1965 and 1971. But the Pro-Pakistani elements within the State have been active ever since; thus the focus has shifted to the internal side of the problem.

KASHMIR AFFAIRS COUNCIL IN RIYADH

It is a matter of history that with the exception of a small section, all the Muslim countries have opposed Indian case on Kashmir. They have pooled their resources in carrying out Islamic 'Jehad', even inside India and Kashmir has been marked as Number One State for their holy crusade. Saudi Arabia, Iran, Libya and other Muslim countries have time and again supported Pakistan's case and joined hands in an unholy combine to free Kashmir from the Indian control and make

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it a part of their Muslim brotherhood and if that be not possible, they are even prepared to keep it as an independent State. Their sole purpose is to free it from the Indian chain which they think is keeping this Muslim majority State by sheer force within the hold of Indian Republic. Col.Nasser's Egypt was the lone Muslim country which did not side with Pakistan in its two unsuccessful wars with India. Rest of the Muslim block overtly and covertly lent its material and moral support to Pakistan which according to them was fighting an 'infidel' India. Saudi Arabia has placed a four storeyed building in Riyadh at the disposal of one Dr.Ayub Thakur who has opened a Kashmir Affairs Council to plan and prepare the Kashmiri Muslim youth for an armed rebellion against India. Dr. Ayub Thakur is a former lecturer of Physics in Kashmir University, Srinagar and was the Head of Jamaat-e-Tulaba organisation. He went underground in Srinagar during the regime of Sheikh Abdullah and appeared in Riyadh. His escape and appearance elsewhere reflect upon our intelligence agencies and administration of the State. The Saudi Government is said to have placed unlimited funds at the disposal of this self-proclaimed leader of the armed insurrection.

The CIA is monitoring his insurgency plan. A high level coordination committee has been set up to pick up students and send them abroad for studies and service in Arabian countries and the Western States. This apex body comprises Jamate-e-Islami, Kashmir Liberation Front, Mahaaz-e-Azadi and People's League. This apex body distributes funds to the recruits and their families who are given training in Egypt and West Germany. They are taught and trained in subversion and infiltration. Each student's family gets Rs. 10,000/- in lumpsum and subsequently a monthly allowance of Rs.1000/-. This pecuniary advantage has lured hundreds of Kashmiri Muslim boys to go abroad and receive the above training.

It is reliably learnt that these boys are responsible for acts of sabotage, bomb-explosions, burning of shrines and violent demonstrations in the State. During 1953-63, the then Chief Minister

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Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed employed youths on a pay of Rs.30/- for his Peace Brigade. This Brigade was his main force to deal with pro-Pakistan Plebiscite Front led by Skeikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg. But now the inflow of petro dollars has changed the entire scene. Indian government cannot pay even one fifth to counter these forces.

As a result, since 1975, when Sheikh Abdullah was handed back power, the State administration has been flooded with men from Al-Fatah and Plebiscite Front, the two premier anti-Indian organisations, one working over ground and the other under ground. Some of the key positions are held by these men who provide a cover to the anti-Indian subversions. Only recently, the Tehsildar of Doru instigated the Muslims to demolish the plinth of a temple in historic Vitasta Ashrama near Veri Nag. Harassing Hindu minority in Kashmir is one of their tactics to clear the State of these 'Indian agents'. The entrenched anti-Indian officers are encouraging these activities. A number of organisations have been functioning for this purpose.

TRAINING SCHOOL AT RAWALPINDI

The Jammu & Kasmir Liberation Front has opened a training school at Rawalpindi in Pakistan where Kashmiri youths who cross over to Pakistan or gó abroad for studies are given training in handling arms, ammunition and explosives. This organisation was led by Mohammed Maqbool Bhat who was convicted u/s 302, IPC and hanged in March 1983 soon after the Indian diplomat Mhatre's murder in Britain. It is this organisation which had extended in 1974 an invitation to Dr. Farooq to visit Pakistan.

The Al-Fatah men after its liquidation and arrest of all its leaders, were involved in a criminal case which was taken up in the High Court. But the case was withdrawn after Sheikh's return to power in 1975. Its members were rehabilitated in services and business. Nazir Ahmed Wani who captained this Front, escaped to Pakistan.

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National Liberation Front has been formed in Rawalpindi under the leadership of Amanullah Khan and Maqbool Bhat. They have close relations with Hashim Qureshi and Ashraf Qureshi, the highjackers of an Indian Airlines plane to Lahore in 1971. It was on August 15, 1983, that Iqbal Qureshi, Altaf Qureshi, Altaf Mahajan and Majid Lala, all members of Kashmir Liberation Front exploded a bomb at the sports stadium in Srinagar.

The People's League is led by Farooq Ahmed Shah and Shabir Ahmed Shah is its General Secretary. Shabir Ahmed Shah is from Kadipora Anantnag. It has its other front organisation units, viz, Islamic Revolutionary Council, Kashmir Liberation Organisation and Islamic Students Organisation. These organisations are responsible for terrorising the people and Indian officers in the State. They write threatening letters and intimidate judges who are holding trials of their members. They also organise students in colleges and universities. They organised the sensational episode of August 15, 1983 at the international cricket match, between India and West Indies in Srinagar, where Pakistani flags were hoisted and anti-national slogans were raised in the presence of the then Chief Minister, Dr.Farooq Abdullah.

The Operation Blue star' in Punjab brought these forces closer to Sikh extremists. These anti-Indian organisations espoused the Sikh extremists' cause. The Srinagar procession protesting against the Golden Temple Tragedy had 80% Muslims and only 20% Sikhs. Then the men killed and wounded on that day were all Muslims and no Sikhs, as they set fire to temples.

Organiser – 16.6.1985

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1.2 ANTI-INDIA ELEMENTS IN KASHMIR

While G.M.Shah's Government of defectors still stays on in the State with Congress-I support and the President's rule is still nowhere in sight, it is now more than clear that the difference between Shah government and Dr.Farooq Abdullah's government, from nationalist point of view, is that between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. But to an average citizen of the State of Jammu & Kasmir, the Shah Government is a symbol of 'betrayal' and a 'negation of democracy.'

The 1975 accord which brought Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah back to power was forgotten when Cong-I withdrew its support to him. Since then an Indian patriot is stunned to see gradual drifting of the State into the fundamentalist lap as every decade decays the thin secular and socialist fibre of the state polity. The change of Government accelerated this process of communilisation of State politics with only a volley of silken secular phrases shelled from time to time, especially at the time of getting financial or political assistance from the Centre.

FAROOQ'S FALL

So endemic is the communal rot that the overthrow of Dr.Farooq Abdullah, engineered with much skill, patience and money, did not push the people any nearer the secular milestone; instead, the very forces which fatten on Indian money joined hands overnight with the enemies of India. But the major share of shame and blame must go to the Centre which has failed to evolve a realistic long-term Kashmir policy aimed at closer integration of the State with the country. Article 370, engrafted into the Consitution of India as a temporary bridge and a tunnel to integrate the State, has been used as a big blockade for emotional integration of the State. While keeping Jammu & Kashmir away from the national mainstream, it has its fall-out elsewhere. The separatists and secessionists all over the country are clamouring for such a special status for other regions.

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The most ugly feature of Article 370 is that a Kashmiri has a right to vote for Indian Parliament and in the election for the President of India, but a non-Kashmiri resident in Jammu & Kashmir for decades has no right to vote in the State assembly election of Jammu & Kashmir, although he is an accepted citizen of the Republic of India. This dual citizenship is the biggest road block in the integration of the State with the rest of India.

No Party in the valley has made an honest effort to educate the people on positive secular and nationalist lines. The National Conference from its birth as a Muslim Conference and even after its later conversion, has always plied communal politics from behind a thin non-communal veil. It has been harping on semi-independent status for Jammu & Kashmir to save and maintain the Muslim complexion of the State. The present leaders of National Conference (the splinter National Conference included) swear by safeguarding the Muslim interest from the onslaught of Hindu India.

The National Conference Activits explain to the people in private that Pakistan has failed in two wars to annex Kashmir and as such they alone will be able to safeguard it from being merged in the Indian Union. They justify their clinging to power as a painful necessity although successive ruling politicians had their own personal interests at stake and these leaders have scaled new peaks of prosperity by manipulating levers of power.

CONGRESS-I'S COMMUNAL RACE

The Congress-I which was expected to come out of this communal thicket, is enmeshed very deep into it. It vies with National Conference in nursing the communal canker and patronising the anti-Indian forces for the sake of seeking a few votes. It could win, just one seat in the valley in the assembly poll in June 1983 but the politics of votes converts even this pro-India organisation into pro-Muslim separatist unit in the valley. The main Congress-I propaganda centres round

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the events of 1947 when Sheikh Abdullah opted for accession to India. They become apologetic about the decision and curse the Sheikh for that great 'sin'. They claim to safeguard the separate entity of Kashmir and cite Article 370 as their shield against India. It is hardly surprising that the National Conference and other rival parties dish out the same material and the valley is charged with emotional and religious appeals.

The economic issues and the plight of the common Kashmiri do not touch even the fringe of electoral battle. It can be safely said that an appeal for the unity and integrity of India has no relevance in Kashmir and those who chant such mantras are consigned to the limbo of oblivion.

The threats to the integrity of the country from across the border can swing the electorate within the valley to outside influence. These are the hard facts and stark realities which must guide our policy makers at Delhi in any political settlement of Kashmir. Shah may come and Farooq may go but the Kashmir's mood will remain the same so far as the separatist conviction is concerned. Such has been the constant drift of politics since 1947.

If Dr. Forooq encouraged communal and fundamentalist force by patronising them and their institutions and by inducting them into vital administrative positions and forming a K.A.P.(Kashmir Armed Police) battalion of bearded fundamentalists, G.M. Shah too, has not deviated from that track. The Congress-I had done the same, openly in 1972, under Mir Qasim when it ditched its own candidates and inducted Jamaat-E-Islami M.L.As into the Assembly by fair and foul means at the polls. The Congress-I openly canvassed for their support and entered into alliance with these anti-India forces. Big congress leaders were prostrating before the Jamaat chief for getting little slips of support for their local leaders.

In 1983 too, the Congress-I was sure of Jamaat support but the last minute call turned the tables.

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It is, therefore, apparent that there is absolutely no scope at present for a secular and nationalist candidate to win at the election in Kashmir. The younger generation is sliding into Jammat-e-Islami's grip and it is this youth wing which has taken the lead now. The Shah Government has not been able to contain secessonist activities. There has been a spurt in the activities of Kashmir Liberation Front (KLF), especially in Rajouri area. Extremist youths hold regular meetings under the garb of religious congregations and preach pro-Pakistani politics. It is alleged that the Rajouri police not only tolerated KLF but also openly proclaimed that Rajouri will see the Green Flag of Pakistan flying there one day.

The predicament of situation follows from the fact that the unemployed and restive youth in Kashmir valley do not feel as a part of the Indian mainstream. Given such fluidity of the situation, the Kashmir leaders are prone, directly or indirectly, to encourage such forces in Kashmir. While denouncing them in New Delhi, each party is aware that by encouraging these trends it can discredit the other party in Muslim dominated area. Hence KLF and other secessionists have become instruments of potential political blackmail in the hands of any party willing to sacrifice its principles.

Dr. Farooq has been accusing G.M.Shah of supporting Jamaat-E-Islami which is known for preaching that accession to India is not final. In reply to a question Dr.Farooq has charged that at a public meeting in Baramulla, Shah supported Jamaat-E-Islami which is known for preaching that accession to India is not final-when the Quran agitation broke out, Shah was in America, but on his return he said, "I would have led the agitation in Calcutta had I been there. What more evidence do you want?

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Be that as it may, Dr.Farooq cannot hoodwink the people because of his own past record. It was during his regime that the Al-Jehad' Organisation responsible for bomb-blasts in the State, was functioning, but it was not touched. He was very soft to such elements and his government described these bombs as "Crackers". Is it not a fact that the 'Al-Jehad' activists were at one time front-rank workers of National Conference led by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah? It is reported that 150 workers of 'Al-Jehad' were recruited into the Jammu & Kashmir Bank in 1978 without even an interview. For example, Ahmed Siddiqi and Bashir-Ul-Rehman are employees of the J & K Bank. Mohammed Iqbal Zeeru, who has also been arrested is working in Geology and Mining Department of the State Government. The recent uproar in the Parliament over the visit and extended stay of Syed Nazir Ahmed Gilani (from Baremulla, Kashmir), who had gone to U.K, from Pakistan in 1982 and joined JKLF, is an eye opener both for India and Kashmir Government. How did the Government of India allow this man to come to this country?

Today, London is emerging as the centre of Anti-India activities with two most important centres of power, Khalistan House in Bayswater and Kashmir House in Luten. Jagjit Singh Chauhan and Aman Ullah Khan, the two anti-India leaders, are together fighting a common 'enemy' i.e., India. with such enemy centres outside India and with people swearing by their dream of free United Kashmir, the need for a long range Kashmir policy is imperative. The arrest of 17 Sikhs and Kashmiries on October, 11, 1985 on the eve of Rajiv Gandhi's visit to U.K, under Prevention of Terrorism Act, clearly calls for a closer watch over the foreigners entering the State, and the foreign money (which is a big factor of destabilisation) from countries like U.S.A, U.K, Saudi Arabia, etc. must be stopped. The Centre has been very soft towards such anti-national activities and time has come when these treasonable trends need to be crushed and put down with a strong hand.

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The Government of India must declare the Sardar Patel way that it will not tolerate even a slight trace of such anti-national activity from whatever quarter it comes. The whole question of political performance needs a new look so that lines are clearly drawn. The absence of a definite Kashmir policy in Delhi has turned the head of puppet like G.M.Shah who recently told his erstwhile colleagues of NC (F) that if Dr. Farooq came to power, the Congress would be sitting on his head, whereas he (Shah) himself kept it (Congress) at the door-mat.

Kashmir is neither Punjab nor Assam, as in both the latter States the number of patriotic elements, who can be depended upon to foil any anti-national intrigue, is overwhelming. Ridden by separatist elements and opportunistic leaders, Kashmir has its own lesson which the Centre must read and digest and then make a purposeful attempt at putting the matters and men in their right perspective and places.

Organiser - 9-3-1986

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1.3 THE KASHMIR TIME BOMB

Despite full support, moral, economic and political, to Dr. Farooq Abdullah by Rajiv, recent developments in this State are alarming and negate the very purpose of the Kashmir Accord. The long overdue overhaul of the State administration and immediate merging of the party is nowhere in sight.

Dr.Farooq seems to be sitting on the fence making statesments that he would fight fundamentalists and anti-Indian elements in the State tooth and nail. The content of all speeches by Dr.Farooq from the day of the accord, has been closing of schools run by Jamaat-E-Islami as these institutions are breeding grounds of communal hatred and anti–secularistic. These verbal declarations have not been given any practical shape, although more than five months have passed and fundamentalists are remaining at large and penetrating all nooks and corners of the state.

These declarations were the bedrock of the accord with Rajiv and it was hoped that with these twin measures the State would march ahead towards economic progress and national integration. Patriotic forces within the State and outside welcomed the accord and worked for its success without reservation. These forces saw to it that the enemies of the accord within the Congress and Government of India are thrown out.

The rise and consolidation of Muslim Communalism in the form of MUF owes its origin to a section of the Congress in Kashmir. It was for the first time in the history of Kashmir that the ruling National Conference fought the elections purely on secular and democratic planks. It was in these elections that anti-accord and communal Congressmen joined hands with the MUF and projected it as the 'third force" which, according to them, would finish the National Conference - a Bhindranwale line in Punjab.

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Dr.Farooq was the supreme of the March 1987 elections. He had the final say in the selection of candidates of alliance parties and in ministry–making. What Dr. Farooq did not approve, could not click. The State was flooded with central assistance in all forms and no demand of Dr.Farooq was rejected or postponed. Dr.Farooq was in full command of the State administration.

LICENCE TO M.U.F

One could guess during the March elections that something was fishy. The full licence to the MUF to denigrate India, spread communalism, preach hatred, question the very accession, employ force and intimidate voters, could not be reconciled with taking the State to the mainstream. The open involvement of administration in many constituencies in favour of the MUF and subsequent "no action" by the Government, though announced by Dr.Farooq from platforms, started clouding matters.

Since March 1987, under the spreading communal influence of the MUF, the valley is witnessing open violation of section 298 J.K.P.C. This State has made killing of a cow or buffalo punishable with 10 years imprisonment and fine. But immediately after the election, cow and buffalo killing has become common. Cow and buffalo meat shops have been opened in almost all towns and major villages of the valley. The administration did not take any action to stop this open violation.

MUF flaunts this as the first stepping stone of converting Kashmir into an Islamic state. At many places MUF workers have manhandled alliance party workers. Even ruling MLAs have been assaulted. This has encouraged communal elements who are threatening secular Muslims with total annihilation.

The MUF, which was on the brink of distintegration as the Jamate-E-Islami was dominating its deliberations, has once again closed ranks. The active Pakistan lobby has persuaded the non-Jamat

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constituents of the MUF to accept the supremacy of the Jamat and with this the accession of the State with India has become questionable.

Earlier, Qazi and Ansari had declared that they accepted the finality of the accession, but since August, the Jamat-E-Islami has succeeded in making the accession of the State as the vital issue and thus, the entire MUF has veered round the Jamat-E- Islami programme. Now MUF leaders do not stop at declaring the accession as temporary one but go ahead and publicly express their sympathies with Pakistan and the other enemies of India.

In its first post-election rally in Anantanag on August 17 Abbos Ansari, Qazi Nisar, Geelani, Abdul Gani Lone and G.M. Shah all agreed that the accession was a temporary one and described India as the usurper in Kashmir and that India wanted to turn this State into a Hindu majority area.

FREE EXPRESSION OF SEDITION

Qazi Nisar declared that Anantanag should be officially renamed as "Islamabad" and those shopkeepers who use "Anantanag" on their sign boards should be boycotted by Muslims. He laid claim to an ancient Hindu shrine of Gautam Nag founded by Gautam Rishi.

Ghulam Mohammed Shah, Ex-Chief Minister, took pride in calling himself a Pakistani. This approach of the leaders of the MUF has vitiated the atmosphere and by and by people are driven into the fundamentalists camp. Free expression of sedition gives rise to an inference that this part of the country is perhaps a mandated territory of the UNO where one is free to challenge the accession of the State with impunity.

Communal elements have become bold and many small incidents of communal trouble in different places have taken place. If the Kashmir minority retaliates then the whole valley will be plunged into darkness.

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Overloaded buses brought people from all the parts of this district to the venue of the meeting of MUF on August, 17. Roof tops of the buses were carrying more people than inside. No officer prevented this violation under the Motor Vehicles Act. When workers of Mufti Syed sought permission to hold their meeting at this new chowk, they were refused permission on the plea that it would create a traffic jam. But it is strange how those considerations were forgotten by the district administration when they allowed this anti-national and communal rally at the chowk.

No anti-Indian speeches were made at the Mufti's rally in contrast to the MUF meeting. People were surprised by this discrimination and that too, in favour of an anti-Indian party - MUF. Not content with this rally, MUF organised a big meeting at Iqbal Park on August 20 at Srinagar. Here also people were transported by overloaded buses from different parts of the valley. The same leaders addressed the 10,000 strong gathering.

It was here that the MUF leaders declared that without solving the Kashmir question (accession) there can be no peace in the State. Full throated " Pakistan Zindabad" and "Jabri nata tode doo, Kashmir hamain chode doo", "Hum keya chahtey hain - Pakistan", were shouted.

The Jamat Tulba dominated the whole show. Speakers threatened India with turning Kashmir into another Punjab if it did not vacate its illegal occupation. .The Indian flag was set on fire amid shouting of pro-Pakistan slogans. The Pakistan flag was hoisted. Abuses were hurled at India and Dr.Farooq, G.M,Shah again paraded himself as a true Pakistani. Qazi Nisar gave a call to boycott Indian banks and proposed to set up an Islamic bank in Jammu and Kashmir. The State administration was enjoying this show of open revolt and rebellion against India and no one from the administration declared the assembly as unlawful.

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Secular Muslims expected that the Government would not allow the holding of this communal rally as they were forewarned about the contents of the speeches by intelligence agencies. Pakistani flags were hoisted in Doda on the Republic Day of Pakistan. Crackers were exploded in almost all the towns of the valley on that day. An old political worker opined that the Government's inaction was attributed to Dr.Farooq showing to India the real face of the "third force" which was created with the support of asectionof Congress. This political leader (without disclosing his name) commented that Dr.Farooq wants to convey to India what he is facing and that the alleged I.B support to Qazi and Ansari would culminate into open revolt against India.

DR.FAROOQ - PUT YOUR FOOT DOWN

Be that as it may, it does not reflect well on the sincerity of Dr.Farooq and it brings little credit to his secular conviction if he sits with arms crossed on this sinister show of communal forces. No self-respecting nation and much less a secular stalwart like Dr.Farooq can allow the national flag to be burnt with applauses and cheers. This is a crime more serious than the nude dance before Mrs.Gandhi during 1983. The MUF leaders can no more hoodwink India by their private acceptance of accession and in public denunciation.

According to an Indian Express report dated August 21, "Leaders of MUF" have called for the repudiation of accession of Kashmir with the Indian Union and urged the people to struggle for achieving their goal of forming an Islamic State". The State Government will no doubt put up challans against these leaders, but their fate is known to all. Prevention of crime is better than punishing it. Here no action is taken and MLAs who have not taken the oath of allegiance are not disqualified. Dr. Farooq has not approached the speaker to disqualify these legislators even under Article 70 of the Consitution of Jammu and Kashmir.

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Under Article 51-A of the Indian Constitution every citizen is expected to abide by the Constitution, respect its ideals and institutions. The MUF is propagating a counter constitution culture. These activities would soon volcanize into communal fury and our secular process would be sullied by these crypto communal operators.

The challenge to the Constitution by the upholders of the Constitution is encouraged by passivity of the administration which according to Dr.Farooq must provide safety to the saner elements of Kashmir Muslims who are holding the banner of secularism aloft.

Dr.Farooq must put his foot down on intransigents in his party which at this time is symbolised by Abdul Rashid Kabli who fails to foresee the repurcussions of communal madness and its final effects. Dr.Farooq must provide safety to the saner elements of Kashmiri Muslims who are holding the banner of secularism aloft.

Current - 12-9-1987.

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1.4 SABOTAGE, SUBVERSION AND ESPIONAGE IN KASHMIR FROM PAKISTAN

With Dr.Farooq safe in the saddle, the subversive elements trained by Pakistan have intensified their acts of sabotage, subversiòn and espionage. Imperialist powers of the West also do not lag behind in playing their part with an object to annex Kashmir with Pakistan, so that they occupy this strategic part of India as spring board for aggression and annexation. The recent grim battle over Siachin Glacier is a link in this chain. There are still four posts of Pakistan on this glacier. The Pakistani armies are concentrating on the borders of this State. To justify this arms pile up and army activity in west Punjab the Pakistani kept press is fabricating fantastic stories of Indian infiltration and bomb blasts, to involve India into their own ethnic riots in Karachi and unrest in NWFP and Sind. The Anglo- American Block had prepared a blueprint for transferring Kashmir to Pakistan so that they could convert it into a strong military base against China and Russia. USA had strained relations with China then and Russia was closer to Mao of China. A part of this conspiracy was revealed when British Commander Brown arrested Governer of Gilgit and handed over this part of Jammu & Kashmir to Pakistan. Captain Scot who was commander of J & K army helped Pakistan in this adventure. The astute political mind of British imperialists is reflected in secret documents (now published) in which Lord Wavell had expressed his opinion that for defence of British interest they cannot depend upon India. It was under this strategy that Pakistan attacked Kashmir in October, 1947 and Pt.Nehru was managed by Lord Mountbatten into running to UNO which regalised the part occupation of the State by Pakistan and in this way, India parted with 79,000 sq. miles of its territory to Pakistan on cease fire implementation in 1949.

FOREIGN AGENTS - ACTIVE IN THE VALLEY

They are helping Pakistan to annex the remaining part by overt and covert activities. This explains the suspicious over stay of seven

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nationals of Britain, three of Germany and two from USA and Australia and one each from New Zealand, Norway, Iran, Japan, Canada and Singapore. Some of them are getting extension and some others have applied to High Court and obtained stay orders. It is strange that Vira Kiran Hassel of Norway was first arrested and then released on bail and finally the case was withdrawn. The activities of most of these foreigners have roused strong suspicion but some enemy agents within this special branch of Kashmir Police are lending cover to these anti national elements. In his interview to Kuldip Nayar, Dr.Farooq had confessed that there were anti-national elements entrenched in his administration. These elements provide important clues to these foreign agents.

Vira Kiran has converted to Islam (with a purpose) and was working as sales girl with a big business man in Srinagar. Her husband was an employee of UNO office in Kashmir. It has been reliably learnt that Syed Mohammed Mukadam, a citizen of Iran has been over staying here since 1974. He is now married here with a local Muslim girl. Similarly the Home Ministry of India was apprised of the espionage work of Mr.Ray by the Teachers Union of Bisco School but no action was taken. It was after hard and persistent efforts of patriots of J & K that he had to leave the State along with his family. But he again managed to come to the valley in 1986. Mr.Muggs, a USA citizen and his wife Dennis Kuggs subsequently managed to stay here along with her children. The officers of Intelligence Services have confessed that these Westerners are over-staying with criminal designs and are involved in anti-Indian activities. It is officially confirmed that five cases of alleged acts of espionage have been registered. The branch of police here is provided with only 45 people to maintain watch and vigil over these activities of foreigners. Despite the Home Ministry's instructions and orders not to allow overstays of the enemies within, the administration openly flouts these orders and publicly decry them.

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Uri and Kupwara in Kashmir, Reasi, Kathua, Poonch and Rajouri areas in Jammu are safe sanctuaries of these foreign agents who develop contacts with military officers of weak morals and our brand of Jai Chands and Mir Jaffers. Not a month goes without a report of some spying having been busted, it has come to light that one Aya Singh who has been working for Pakistan Military Intelignece was supplying girls from Pakistan to our young army officers for spying. This Aya singh was responsible for the Samba Espionage case which involved several military officers. This Aya Singh was arrested near R.S.Pura in Jammu. One Shakeel Ahmed of Pakistan who was arrested disclosed that he was involved in the work of subversion and sabotage under the command of field Intelligence of Pakistan. Kamal Ahmed, Ali Mohammed, Kosar, Abdul Sattar all Pakistani nationals were arrested this year and they have been carrying on this espionage work since many years. This is the story of detected foreign nationals who were roaming at large and active in their assigned job of subversion. The number of people who are actively working and who have married the local girls run into thousands. Hundreds of Pakistani nationals have been granted citizenship certificates. Most of the moulvis in city and town mosques are people from outside the State. With friendly people ready to embrace any Pak spy, their detection becomes a problem. The infiltrators who had entered J & K during 1965 were a problem to army authorities then. It was a miracle how they were pushed out. Batamaloo area in Srinagar was to be set on fire to flush out these inflitrators then. During the last three years five top captain crews of pro-Pakistan parties in Kashmir have crossed the border and gone to Saudi Arabia. How did they manage their escape?

INTERNAL SABOTAGE

Since February 86 the incidents of bomb blasts and acts of incendiarism have assumed dangerous proportions. The State Governemnt had unearthed a powerful gang aided by Pakistan which was trained in handling of arms and explosives but after Dr.Farooq came to power these kingpins were released on the recommendations of political

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power weights. The arsonists and looters were never touched due to internal sabotage by the crime branch and police agency. The state police administration is worst infested by these agents and they are holding key positions at all levels. The Pakistan lobby has a definite plan of searing away minorities and to drive them away. On 29th May, 1987 after the Iddgah attack on Chief Minister Dr.Farooq and Maulvi Farooq, these elements looted Malhotra Provision Stores at Amera Kadal, Srinagar, under the very nose of administration. After this, 'Amritsar De Hati' was ransacked and looted. It was during this period that these Pakistani agents occupied the important shrines of minority community in Muran, tehsil Pulwama. Three sacred springs of this historical shrine were occupied by the Muslims. The protests and petitions of the minority did not evoke any response. On 23rd January 1987, a famous ashram at Tikar founded by late Swami Nandalalji was reduced to ashes. The most valuable assets of the Ashram were thus lost in fire. The prompt swing by police after attack on Dr.Farooq at Iddgah saved the minority at Srinagar city; otherwise these communal elements had planned to carry swords and fire to the interior of the town. As Dr.Farooq has taken no action regarding purging the administration and his party from these communal outfits, the administration, instead of halting and curbing these trends, is lending a helping hand. To create panic among minority, a number of cow and buffalo meat shops have been opened in almost all the towns and villages of the valley, in spite of this being a criminal offence punishable under J & K PC. The law is allowed to rust on the statuete book and appeals of Kashmiri minority on this score have yielded no results. Only on 22nd October, 1987, the Kashmir minority submitted a resolution to the J & K Governor, Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police about the power cut at the time of Sri Ramayan Serial Telecast on the Doordarshan on Sundays.

The concluding part of the resolution reads "the meeting extraordinary appeals to the authorities concerned to be a bit generous and liberal by ensuring extra supply during the Telecast now that the Serial is coming to an end in the same spirit which the authorities concerned

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demonstrated, by providing uninterrupted power supply during the present Reliance Cup Cricket matches especially when Pakistan is playing. It is important to note here that for all the matches played by Pakistan the cooperation of the electrical authorities by way of feeding undisturbed supply of electricity for about nine hours daily was timely, spontaneous and encouraging." Thus with such an administration and Pakistan–prone population, the sabotage, subversion and the espionage activities are on increase in this cockpit of communalism. The half hearted measures by Government of India and the absence of a long–range Kashmir policy has resulted in thinning the lines of secular Muslims in the State who are at a receiving end from their co-religionists and the administration.

Excelsior - 27-11-1987.

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1.5 KASHMIR TURNS INTO PUNJAB

If ever curfew restrictions are to be enforced strictly militants should be empowered to do so. It is a unique sight to see complete and most successful curfew restrictions imposed invariably on the call of terrorists, in Srinagar. The call given for the bandh by the militants on August 17 to mark the first death anniversary of late General Zia Ul Haq was total and unprecedented. Some masked militants also set the national tricolour on fire. Incidents of stone pelting and flag burning were witnessed in other districts of the valley too. Not only was the civil curfew imposed in letter and spirit during daytime, but it was yet another unusual sight during the evening. A complete blackout was witnessed in response to the militants' call for observing Independence day as 'Black Day'. With the street lights also off as in households, certain electric installations were damaged by the militants to ensure that there was complete blackout in the valley. A transformer installed near the residence of Industries Minister Maulvi Iftikhar Hussain Ansari was also put off the gear.

The attendance at the ceremonial Independence parades, held under tight security measures was very thin. The militants had warned the Ministers as well as officials of dire consequences if they participated in flag hoisting ceremonies. Threatening letters and posters calling for non participation were issued two days earlier to ensure complete bandh. There were bomb blasts in the residence of PCC(I) Chief Mohammed Shafi Qureshi and some National Conference leaders.

Bursting of crackers, firing of gun shots in the air and release of hot air ballons tagged with Pakistani flags marked the celebrations of Independence day of Pakistan earlier on August 14, There was a very clever and unusual strategy that was adopted by the anti-national elements to hoist Pak flags this time, under tight security.

The militants caught the police unaware and in a difficult position as large number of hot air ballons tagged with Pakistani flags

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soared in the sky and a large number of people including the Police watching the scene. In the enterior city and down town areas, ceremonial parades were held with hoisting of Pakistani flags. In the evening crackers were burst and illuminations, poorly watched by State Police marked the day long celebrations. The militants then organised yet another bandh through unprecedented calls on August 17 to mark the first death anniversary of Gen.Zia-Ul-Haq. It was also a successful bandh that Kashmir witnessed. Not a single vehicle could be seen on the road. The success of the bandh and hartal on these days was a grand success primarily because of the fact that the militants struck at vital points and at right time to cause scare among the people. At least 50 persons were injured when a hand granade was lobbed on a business centre in the heart of the city on August 15 Later on one person succumbed to injuries in the hospital. The territories, of late, have been striking at will and in different parts of the city. Last month it was a gruesome attack on CRPF Jawans who then retaliated by beating and ransacking whatever came their way and started firing indiscriminately killing four people in the spree.

The terrorists acts have been taking place, quite frequently now. Bomb blasts have become the order of the day. Not only is the valley burning, the winter capital, Jammu, is also witnessing occasional turmoil ever since the January 13 riots in which 13 lost their lives. In a recent terrorist strike, 6 people were gunned down by scooter borne terrorist in Gandhi Nagar area. The frozen area and ever peaceful Ladakh is also set ablaze. Large scale communal violence has erupted there too. The capital town of Leh has been witnessing large scale violence and curfew has been imposed invariably.

By and large Kashmir is turning into yet another Punjab. The paradise on earth, once known for peace and tranquillity is witnessing the worst. Ice berg Ladakh on fire and Jammu burning everything seems to be going the other way.

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Press censorship has been imposed in a recent move by the State Governement through a bill passed in the State Legislature. According to terrorists and underground militant organisations, the crucial phase of the holy war, 'Jehad' launched by so called 'Mujahideens' has begun and the recent developments are quite like that of Punjab and one feels the militant organisations and their strategies are quite similar to those in Punjab. The Government on the other hand is coming up with a heavy hand, but who is the ultimate winner remains to be seen.

POLITICIANS BECOME VICTIMS

The ruling National Conference M.L.As and Ministers have been warned of dire consequences, if they do not resign within one month's time. All the four M.U.F.(Muslim United Front) M.L.As are under very heavy pressure of resigning and militants threats have made every M.L.A. think either of politics or of his own life. In a recent development a National Conference leader of the city, Mohammed Yusuf Halwai was gunned down in broad day light in the terrorist strike in Srinagar. Mr.Halwai had been opposing militant ways for a long time. The morale of the politicians seems to be lower than that of the police in the wake of recent threats. The assembly session was held under the tightest ever security while it was marked by bandh on the very first day on August 21. The State Government is arming its forces with the latest armoury to combat any threat of advance of terrorism but intelligence agencies report that the militants have aquired rocket launchers and most sophisticated weapons to enter into an open war. Cross-firing is reported almost everyday for hours together in the down town. It is time government wakes up and shows its iron hand!

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1.6 ATTACKS ON MINORITY SHRINES

After the 26th January debacle in the form of a total hartal in the valley observed at the call given by Kashmiri Liberation Front and other pro-Pak outfits in Kashmir, the emboldened anti-Indian elements mounted their guns for a total hartal on 11th February 1989, the day of execution of Mohammed Maqbool Bhat. This second call for hartal and rallies was endorsed by all the pro-Pak parties in the valley. On the Republic Day, Dr. Farooq Abdullah addressed his workers and Government employees at district headquarters of the valley and expressed his unhappiness and grief over the boycott of Republic Day. After the call for observing 11th February as a day of mourning, people expected Dr.Farooq to foil this call by camping in the valley and gearing up his organisation and administration to meet the challenge. It is important to recall that Dr.Farooq met the Home Minister Buta Singh at New Delhi, before 11th February where he was confronted with his failure in stemming the tide of communalism and secessionism in the state. It is unfortunate that our Home Minister had not the courage to tell Dr.Farooq to remain in the valley till 11th February and ensure that anti-Indian forces do not succeed in their second attempt. The reports regarding preparations for the coming Bandh were pouring in the winter capital which normally would induce seriousness in the Chief Minister but it had a reverse effect and Dr.Farooq planned his ten days foreign trip and left the State to the pro-Pak mercenaries. The rank and file of the National Conference could read the signal and thus the fundamentalists registered their second victory on 11th February. The hartal was complete.

Hindu houses and temples were again the targets of arsonists and stone pelting mobs. Vicharnag where recently Keshav Nath was murdered for his refusal to get converted again witnessed a big bomb blast on 11/12 February. The tremors were felt in 4 kms. area. That very night one person was caught redhanded with incendiary material on his person at Chakrishwar Hari Parbat, the famous shrine of Hindus in Srinagar.

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'SATANIC VERSES' - CAUSE FOR THE VIOLENCE?

On 26th January, Fateh Kadal was attempted to be set on fire by violent mob protesting against "Satanic Verses" of Salman Rushide. Police had to open fire to foil the attempt. On 17th February minority houses in Heera Mohalla, Anantnag, were again the target of stoning. The presence of police picket in this minority mohalla saved the situation.

On the call of the head priest of Iran, Ayatullah Khomeni, one more hartal and protest were organised in the valley on 17th February. The anti–national elements got again a chance to resort to rampage and violence in down town Srinagar. This protest was against the "Satanic Verses" which has already been banned in India. Pakistan imposed the ban several days after India and Iran woke up months later. It was on 17th February evening that two petrol bombs were hurled on the house of Sat Pal Gandhi, a local goldsmith. The Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police arrived on the spot and found these bombs were locally manufactured.

It will not be out of place to mention that Rushdie is a Kashmiri Muslim who had migrated to Bombay and subsquently became a British citizen. One fails to understand how does a Hindu temple or Hindu houses become the target of mob violence when this docile minority does not even utter a word in protest against barbarities perpetrated on this community. The Government has failed to create an atmosphere in which minority can walk and move in the streets with their heads high. Their womenfolk are a special target of teasing and taunting. They have been silently bearing these sufferings for the follies of their national leaders.

QAZI NISAR'S FRIDAY CALLS

From 26th January till 17th February Qazi Nisar has once again started stoking the fires of communalism. As disclosed by Rashis

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of Ziyarat Reshi Saheb and Srinagar Times in an article, Qazi is a man of lakhs now. He has considerable landed property, buses and a car. As reported earlier, special arrangements were made on the occasion of his sister's marriage by the then Deputy Commissioner Mr.Swami Raj Sharma (during President's rule). The Revenue Minister of Jammu and Kashmir met him at his residence several times. He has constructed an Islamic Research Institute on Government land. He has been given other grants for the same. Since last one year he has lost all his credibility. He was accused by his own M.U.F. leaders of corruption and treachery. That caused split in M.U.F. All the M.U.F, MLA's have revolted against him. M.U.F was divided. Now this man has again started communalizing the situation. During the last three Fridays he has decried India and its Constitution and asked the audience to spit at them. He has declared that he would march on 'Gauutam Nag' shrine, two km. from Anantnag, the base camp of Amarnath Yathra where pilgrims take a dip in the holy spring. He has laid a claim to this ancient shrine of Gautam Rishi which is situated between Anantnag and Martand. When a friend asked him as to how he was raising such an unjustified slogan for grabbing the ancient Hindu shrine, he is reported to have said that the Home Ministry was at his back. This may not be a fact but his being patronized in spite of his speaking treason lend some corraboration to his private talk.

The minority in Anantnag district has conveyed its feelings of anguish and concern to the authorities inside and outside the State. Besides, all the branches of Kashmiri Pandit Association in India and abroad will be contacted as this shrine of Gautamnag is held in high esteem as it is here that Swami Gash Kak Jee, Mana Kak Jee, Sarwanandajee and several other saints and sages preached their gospel and performed their Sadhana. On 25th February Sri Kedarnath Sahani, Ex-Mayor, Delhi, visited this shrine personally and when this correspondent enquired from the Awqaf Hanif leaders, they expressed their utter surprise over this unlawful claim of Qazi who is using it as a political gimmic to recover his lost influence. Their Awaqaf leaders have pointed out that all landed property wherever situated have been taken

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possession of by the Awqaf Hanfia. These leaders further expressed that Hazarath Reshi Saheb used to sit here while coming from a nearby village where the shrine of Haroot Marot is located. That according to them does not make it Muslim property. It is interesting to record that this shrine of Reshi Saheb called Reshi mole is held in reverence by Hindus and Muslims of this district and daily hundreds of Hindus visit this shrine and pay their respects. The entire official record established the exclusive ownership of this shrine, Gautam Nag. The Muslims in general now understand these political gimmicks of Qazi and will not support him.

INDEFFERENCE OF STATE AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The secular and nationalist elements are intrigued over the indifference of State and Central Government over these developments. It is openly said that the Governemnt does not act but it only reacts and then the situation goes out of hand. This is what happened in Punjab and if the matters are allowed to drift Kashmir will become another Punjab.

The representatives of the temples of Kashmir convened a meeting on 13-2-1989 at Sheethal Nath under Sri A.N.Vaswani. The meeting expressed its sense of shock over the attitude of the State Government in failing to give adequate protection to the minority community and its dismay over the day-to-day attacks on minority houses and temples. The Daily Excelsior in its editorial of 23-2-1989 described these developments as highly disturbing.

Anantnag Prabhandak Committee in its meeting held on 21st February, 1989, strongly deplored the latest communal stance of Qazi and condemned his utterances regarding Gautam Nag shrine. It was pointed out that such temple grabbing would result in a chain reaction throughout the length and breadth of the country. The meeting counselled restraint to the offers of help from different Hindu organisations outside the valley. This meeting resolved to place the matter

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before the Chief Minister and the Government of India as both were involved in this matter. Similar resolutions have been received from other Hindu institutions of the State. It has been pointed out in these resolutions that the entire Sadhu Samaj at Allahabad should be contacted in case of any attack on the sacred shrine of Gautam Nag.

The Mandir Committee of Srinagar district held a meeting on 31-1-1989 at 4.30 p.m.and condemned the attacks on the minority community and the failure of the Governement to give protection to the minority at Fateh-Kadal where mobs broke into and looted the idol of the Mandir and tried to put the Dharmashala on fire on 26-1-1989 at 4.30. They demanded police protection for the Kashmiri minority and its temples. Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Jammu, also conveyed its sympathies to the Kashmiri Pandit brothers in the valley and expressed their solidarity and support for the minority living in the valley. They prayed that they be assigned the duty of informing the Kashmiri Pandit branches in India and abroad of the atrocities on the minority in Kashmir.

Martand - 17-3-1989.

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1.7 KAKSHMIR IS NEXT MUJAHIDEEN TARGET AFTER AFGHANISTAN

Massive reinforcement of paramilitary forces and commando squads has partially curbed the terrorist activities in Kashmir, though there are still sporadic blasts and attempts to burn the bridges. The subversive elements have gone underground to regroup and reequip themselves.

Whereas National Conference has added to the number of Cabinet Ministers and openely flouted the Central direction to drop some of the Cabinet Ministers who have been accused of being sympathetic to the fundamentalists and terrorists, the Congress(I) has reconstituted its Pradesh Congress(I) Committee with Mohammad Shafi Qureshi as its President. All the defectors have been crowned and notorious people with heavy load of the stigma of corruption have been inducted into the PCC-I. This has once again handicapped the revamped party at the threshold of a new era.

Dr.Farooq has added insult to injury by inducting Suhrawardy a confirmed fundamentalist and propounder of the theory that Kashmir acceded with India in order to make it an Islamic State. Moreover, instead of making any honest attempt to fight pro-Pak. forces Dr.Farooq has supplied grist to their propaganda mills by his off and on vituperations against India. While the dust and din of bombs and bullets have not subsided, Dr.Farooq has once again thrown a political bombshell on India.

Inaugurating the fifth National Convention of Agriculture Engineers on May 27, he said, "It was the direct outcome of the Kashmir policy adopted by the Centre during the last forty years that Kashmiri Youth had chosen the path of militancy and were indulging in terrorist activities. When the youth saw that Kashmiris were being grossly discriminated against and injustice was being done to them, when they were not being given their dues and when they did not find any

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Kashmiri holding any important post in Central Government Departments, they were forced to take to armed rebellion."

TWO FACES OF DR.FAROOQ

Given this background, how does India expect Dr.Farooq to fight these forces? It is only a man with conviction in Indian Natioinalism and dedicated to the service of motherland who can fight pro-Pak forces in Kashmir. Mere profuse praise of Rajiv as he lately did, does not whitewash his image: it only makes him a double-faced, double-tongued man.

Such vituperations of Dr.Farooq, providing all encouragement to ongoing subversion in Kashmir, reveal his inner mind. With such a vacillating stand it would be preposterous to accept Farooq to stand by India at a critical hour. With this man at the helm the entire administration with certain exceptions is highly hospitable to the enemy agents. Perhaps the ghost of Amaanullah Khan - head of Kashmir Liberation Front (KLF) - haunts the C.M. even afater his verbal denial of renewed links. The Government of India is pouring money like water into this State while Farooq complains that he does not get adequate Central assistance. A very recent report form Planning Commission records that the per capita outlay in Jammu and Kashmir for the 7th Plan (1985 to 1990) was Rs.2045 - as against all States average of Rs.1042 - that is, it was double in J & K.

INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY

Recent reports about the future plan of Afghan Mujahdeen is alarming for India. The President of the Government of Afghanistan in exile, Maulana Syed Assadullah Mujadedi has declared that after the fall of Jalalabad and Kabul, the next target of Mujahadeens would be liberation of Kashmir from India. Speaking at a function organised in honour of National Day of West Germany in Islamabad, Mujadedi is reported to have said that Afghans will march to liberate Kashmir

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and will join Kashmiris and fight shoulder to shoulder with them against India, which has merged Kashmir with Bharat.

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The 'Pindi Mail' of Rawalpindi has published a special report about General Khalid on this issue. It says that the next target of Afghanistan would be Kashmir. Hikmatyar Gulbadan, Foreign Minister of Mujahideen's transitional Government of Afghanistan has also pleaded for liberation of Kashmir. Thus the dark clouds of external conspiracy to separate Kashmir from India are hovering over the Indian horizon. The recent attempt of Pakistan to raise Kashmir issue again and again in international Fora is also a pointer towards this new offensive. Benazir's refusal to give any commitment regarding Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir has added a new element of danger in this area. The internal situation in Kashmir is explosive and helpful to the enemies on our borders and their agents within. Massive military aid to Pakistan by U.S. has further upset military balance.

In spite of Buta Singh's intervention in State Cong-I affairs the factionalism in the party has intensified after reconstitution of P.C.C. in the Valley.

Party workers who remained loyal have been sidelined and an opportunist class of defectors loyal to the person of Ghulam Nabi Azad have been showered with party posts. This has further weakened the pro-India front which lay fractured since Rajiv - Farooq accord. The field is being opened more and more for anti - Indian elements to capture the entire Valley.

With tremendous financial support from abroad and with an expectation of becoming the heroes of the people and with an appeal in the name of religion, the youths are attracted towards the militants. The hatred against India has been generated to such a pitch that those suspected of being pro-Indian or having even remote connectios with India are looked down upon. It happened on 9th June at Jamia Masjid Srinagar when G.M.Shah, Qazi Nissar and Abdul Gani Lone were

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not allowed to address the Friday mourning assembly convened to condole the death of Khomeini. It was later learnt that pro-Pak elements were behind this protest and they were assisted by National Conference workers. These leaders had to leave the mosque through a trap hole, otherwise they would have been assaulted.

At present there is lull in the atmosphere. It is said that militant youths are running short of arms as there is a strict check on borders. In the meantime Buta Singh's sky high praises for Dr.Farooq's patriotism did not, in the least, help the Congress-I and National Confrence to get consolidated into a strong solid pro-India force to face the challenge of insurgency.

Only a fortnight back Farooq styled the Congress-I workers as traitors who are planning to topple his Government. He declared to his party workers that National Conference will fight the Panchayat elections on its own. Mr.Qureshi on the other hand has accused National Conference of promoting corruption and grabbing the subsidy provided by the Centre for industrial growth. He said that only nine families of National Conference have grabbed that amount. Thus the pro–India elements are at loggerheads and the enemy is marching ahead and consolidating himself.

Organiser - 10.7.1989.

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1.8 CONGRESS-I OUT TO SACRIFICE KASHMIR FOR MUSLIM VOTES

The 'Optopac' (Operation Topac) of Gen.Zia is operating with full swing in J & K. For the first time in the history of J & K State both the Republic Day and the Independence Day were celebrated as black days in Kashmir. However, the Independence Day of Pakistan, 14th August was marked by hilarity and merriment with exploding of crackers and illuminations. Almost all the roads had Pakistan Zindabad words written on the walls and Pakistani Flags hoisted in almost all prominent places. The call for boycott of 15th of August and celebration of Independence Day of Pakistan was given by the Pro-Pakistani Peoples League, Mahaz-e-Azadi, JKLF, Jamaiate-Tulba, Hizb-e-Islami, Hazbullah Islami Jamhuria, Al Khomeini (a new organisaation) and the latest new militant organization of Azam Inquilabi.

These parties had asked the people to observe 14th August as the day of rejoicing and the 15th August as the day of slavery and hence Black Day while 17th as the death anniversary of Gen.Zia. Thousands of posters and pamphlets were distributed a week earlier throughout the valley. People were seen distributing pamphlets in the State Secretariat and collecting money. The second week of August started with bomb blasts in the Valley to create terror so that the action plan was a success. Except for wordy condemnation by Dr.Farooq, the entire Muslim population carried out the orders of these anti-Indian organisations. In Srinagar and Anantnag, Pakistani flag was hoisted just in the presence of Para Military forces. They had strict instructions not to interfere with the Pakistani Flag hoisting ceremony. The"Srinagar Times" carried a photo of this scene,. Immobile CRPF has also encouraged these Pakistani elements.

QUESTIONABLE ROLE OF RULING PARTIES

All this was done under the very nose of State Government. The Independence Day started with bomb blasts. One was exploded

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at Haba Kadal causing injury to a dozen persons. Another bomb was thrown on the vehicle of National Conference leader, Abdul Samad Teli, and the third was planted at the garage of Abdul Salam Deva, Provincial President of National Conference at Anantnag.

There was complete hartal in the valley on Independence Day. The vehicular traffic was off the roads. All the Government shops were closed. The State Transport Corporation did not operate its fleet of vehicles. The attendance at the stadium for flag hoisting was negligible. The shops owned by National Conference and Congress workers also remained closed. The administration directed the military authorities to stop the vehicular movements on 15th August. The Army School cancelled Independence Day function on the direction of State Administration. Thus the National Conference-Congress(I) Government fully co-operated with pro-Pakistni elements in converting this Independence Day into a Black Day. 16th August was again observed as a day of hartal and bombs were thrown on a Police party in Anantnag and other places in the valley, but no action followed. Similar was the case on 17th, the death anniversary of Gen.Zia. There was complete bandh in the Valley.

Dr.Farooq of National Conference and Shafi Qureshi of Congress-I had earlier declared that they would celebrate the Republic Day but they could not manage a sizeable number to celebrate the function. Kashmir has never come to such a sorry pass. The militancy is growing day by day even when India spends crores on Core Area Plans and flood and other relief measures. All this money goes into the pockets of anti–Indian elements who have dominated the alliance parties as well. There is absolutely no political resistance to the advance of menacing anti–Indian forces.

With no national perspective, the Congress-I leaders have pushed Kashmir into the terrorists cauldron.

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Otherwise, how is it that with fenced border and forces patrolling it, we hear every day that fresh wave of Pak trained subversives have entered the Valley. The Government of India seems to be fiddling with National Security, for Kashmir is perilously perched on the trijunction of three enemy countries. All the three regions, Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir are in flames and the Nero is dancing on the Doordarshan. The Congress robots have no solution to the Kashmir and Punjab imbroglios. The nation has to think seriously over this new threat from Kashmir.

ROLE OF U.S.A.

The Nehru dynasty, due to its Soviet leanings, has earned the hostility of the U.S.A. Moreover, due to bungling and appeasement, Punjab, Kashmir and the Christian Belt of Nagaland, Mizoram and Tripura are rife with secessionist movement. There is communal trouble in the entire country. All these uprisings are entirely due to anti-Indian policy of the United States. The Deputy Assistant Secretary of State (U.S. Govt.) for the near East and South Asia Mrs.Teresita Schaffer, said before the Sub-Committee of Asian Pacific Foreign Affairs and Arms Control, that U.S. was balancing India and Pakistan in the matter of arms, etc. She confirmed Pakistan's role in abetting terrorism in India. She admitted that Pakistan has been providing assistance to terrorists engaged in subversive activities in India and that the process has not ceased. Documentary proofs were given of Pakistani complicity in training and supplying arms to terrorists.

There are reports that the U.S.A. will share its intelligence about India with Pakistan. Pentagon is in a position to provide satellite intelligence about India's strategic and tactical plans through its high level air reconnaissance (Sr 71) AWACS and electronic monitoring including operation with R.C. 135. Pakistan is planning to launch communication satellites in the next few years. Moreover, U.S.A. will supply digital maps to be fed into the navigation computor of the F-16 for air strikes against Indian targets. Pakistan is ready to become

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a beneficiary of the LATIRN system which will give all-weather low level navigation capability.

Coupled with the supply of sophisticated weapons, Pakistan can be a good match for India. The Harpoon submarine would be a serious threat to Indian naval forces if target information is supplied by U.S.A. If past history is any guide then we must not forget that it was the gun power which enslaved India. Pakistan is being armed to the teeth for no other object than humiliating India. Though Zia is gone 'Op. Topac' of Zia is in the midst of second phase and the third phase - the final count down in Kashmir - is sure to follow if India does not strike the Pakistani training camps and arms dumps.

Kashmir is an eye sore to imperialist power and all means are being adopted to delink it from the rest of India. It is interesting to note that one of the fiercest gun-battles took place in the first week of July when Indo-Pakistan Commission was in session in Islamabad. Even after Rajiv formally agreed to withdraw from Siachen, the Pak-trained subversives continued to receive training in Paki Camps and were supplied with latest weapons to create trouble for India in Kashmir. The Congress party is pre-occupied with appeasing Pakistan and the Pro-Pak Muslim organisations within India to corner Muslim vote. The security and stability of the country is in danger. Kashmir is emitting alarms. Who will heed?

Organiser 3.9.1989

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1.9 "KASHMIR CELL" IN PAKISTAN

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I have ben repeating that until the Anglo-American Block holds its military and diplomatic dominance, and till America continues to hold the balance of power, no Government in Pakistan and certainly not the weak Government of Benazir can flout U.S. dictates and allow India to emerge as the great power of Asia. Britain was never reconciled to India's independance since that day sun has set on the British Empire.

British politicians do not like to see a stable India. They have dragged U.S. by their diplomacy into this conspiracy and now work unitedly for this purpose and other matters. In this context, our conferences and meetings are meaningless with Pakistan. Since Benazir came to power the terrorist training has not ceased. The flow of arms does not stop and Kashmir continues to be the burden of their song. All our accords have a history of our surrender of all that we have won with the priceless blood of our Jawans right from 1948 when we declared cease fire in Jammu and Kashmir. The Tashkent agreement deprived us of valuable gain in the war and robbed us of our truely Indian Prime Minister. The Simla accord was a big victory for the champion of 'one thousand years war' with India.

Important strategic areas were again gifted to Pakistan with the result that Bhutto convened a conference of all Islamic countries at Lahore and declared to manufacture the Islamic Atom Bomb. Besides the gift of hard won territory, we released to Pakistan 95,000 prisoners of war as well, which would otherwise have created a revolt in Pakistan. But still there was no love lost between the two countries.

The recent flirtation between the two young Third world leaders on Siachen have once again frittered away the sacrifice of hundreds of our brave soldiers by putting Siachen in the lap of Benazir thus destabilising the territorial frontiers of India. Siachen was no issue the P.M. has again betrayed the Nation, when Kashmir issue was dead

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and frozen and when Pakistan lay prostrate we incorporated Kashmir again in Simla Agreement meaning thereby that this dispute was alive.

PAKISTAN'S PLAN - TO ESTABLISH COMMON BORDER WITH CHINA

Instead of burying this issue which had lost relevance after three wars, we again fell in the diplomatic trap. The secessionist forces muster courage of conviction by making references to Simla agreement. Siachen has been under Indian control since 1947. It was in June 1985 that Pakistan attacked our pickets. Now we have agreed to withdraw from our present position and create a no man's land. No self–respecting country will create no man's land out of its own territory.

As described earlier, Pakistan has missiles capable of carrying nuclear pay load with range effective enough to hit India's centres.It has gone beyond the capacity to produce three bombs a year.

Pakistan is coordinating its military activities with China in a bid to establish suzerainty over Siachen glacier in Ladakh region. This glacier is 74 Km. in length and 2 to 8 Km. width at various places. Pakistan intends to take an advantageous position in this area and have closer links with China. It is reported that Pakistan and China are jointly undertaking reconnaissance exercises over this glacier and Nubra valley.

The prestigious Janes Defence Weekly in its July'85 issue reported that on May 29 four Pakistani and two Chinese jet fighters intruded into Indian airspace and flew over this glacier and Nubra valley on military photo reconnissance mission. The American Alpine journal, the premier mountaineeing publication in its 1981-1982 number reported expeditions under sectiion "climbs and expeditions by Pakistan", and shows wrong line of control favourable to Pakistan. Pakistan aims to occupy the area near Karakoram Pass which will

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enable it to have control over Nubra valley and the routes going down to Leh. With capture of Indira Col (the name of this glacier area) Pakistan would establish a common border with China. It has already set up a special snow warfare force which consists of men from Northern Light Infantry and SSG.

The attitude of Communist China with theocratic Islamic Pakistan to cut secular, democratic and socialist India to size is praised by the Trojan Horses within India. E.M.S. sees nothing objectionable in this dirty hand shake of China with Pakistan. He has given a clean chit to the butchers of Beijing who massacred ten thousand students in one day. With such enemy agents within the country tendering advice to P.M. and ruling two strategic States, the vulnerability of India is all the more grave and greater.

It is an irony of fate that Indiraji's dear son should surrender and give on plate what has been won after splitting the hot red blood of the sentinels of India and that too when the area is named as Indira Col. It would become a national tragedy if the agreement is implemented on the ground. With the gift of Siachen, Kashmir automatically goes out of India's hand. Instead of befriending Pakistan let India mend fences with its master - U.S. Pakistan instead of decreasing military budget has increased it by 300 million dollors and still we are taken for a ride on the negotiating table.

I.S.I. PLAN TO CONSOLIDATE ALL FACTIONS

President Ishaq and Gen Baig have established a secret cell to consolidate different factions working for the liberation of Kashmir from India. This informatin has come from interrogation Centre. It is reported that Pakistan–occupied Kashmir Government has increased the grant to Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front from Rs.Two crores to Rs.Ten crores. The Front has split on account of misappropriation of funds. Mr.Hashim Qureshi has accused Amanullah Khan of squandering away this money. The cell is attempting to consolidate the factions in this front.

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The conference of Kashmiri Secessionists at Lutan in England ended abruptly in the midst of mud slinging at one another. Qureshi accused Amanullah of working for the dictatorship of Pakistan army over Jammu and Kashmir and not for its liberation.

Qureshi accused Jamat-i-Islami of being a branch of Pakistani Jammat and not working independently as it pretends to act. According to Qureshi, who had hijacked an Indian Airlines plane to Lahore in 1971, the fight is to liberate Kashmir both from Islamabad and Delhi. He condemned the killings of innocent people at the instance of Amanullah Khan. Qureshi has circulated his letter from his headquarters at Amsterdam in Holland. The letter indicates that on his refusal to work for Pakistan he was pushed out from there. He described Jamat-i-Islami as a mercenary party busy in hatching intrigues for fanning communal strife in Kashmir. He reminded the emigrant Kashmiris that "Tehrike Kashmir" has been started in Pak. occupied Kashmir to seek the independence of State and to make it part of Pakistan, where democracy has been snuffed out. He said that he never agreed with I.S.I. plan for Kashmir and was the lone dissenter.

Qureshi said that he finds no sense in attacking Kashmir minority houses and temples, for, Kashmiri Pandits have played a big role in the independence movement of the State particularly in 1920-1927 period. There is one more secret letter addressed by Azam Inqlavi which is in circulation in the valley. Azam Inqlavi is also stated to have been present in the meeting convened by Gen.Zia. He is stated to be a protege of Dr. Farooq Hyder of London, main rival of Amanullah Khan. The Islamabad "Cell" is bringing together all these splintered groups to go ahead with I.S.I. plan. The July-August violence is attributed to this group which includes a lady named Begum Shahids who moves about in the name of Paramjit Kaur.

The bellicose attitude of Pakistan became clear after the statement of Pakistani Minister of State for Defence Sarwar Cheema describing Indian presence in the Siachen Glacier as "aggression by

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design". On the one hand talks are held on this issue and on the other hand the Pak-Minister makes the charge of aggression. This statement has come on the heels of Benazir's Siachen visit. He also accused India of withdrawing from its commitment about withdrawl from Siachen after Indian delegation reached New Delhi. He said Indian Government was wriggling out of its commitment. It shows how Benazir is playing a double game. This statement must put our Government on the alert.

Excelsior - 12.9.1989

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1.10 GUNNING DOWN OF TAPLOO - WHY ?

Shree Tika Lal Taploo, Advocate and Vice-President B.J.P. Jammu and Kashmir, as he left his residence at Chinkral Mohalla; Srinagar at 9.45 A.M. on 14th September to attend the court, was shot dead by two militants with five bullets at a by-lane near his residence. Three bullets hit his abdomen and he fell down and then and there some shots were fired in the air by militants as they made good their escape in the lanes and by-lanes of the densely inhabited area of Srinagar. Taploo was accompanied by his Muslim clerk who also received injuries. Taploo was rushed to S.M.G.S. Hospital where doctors declared that he was dead. The police sources say that the weapon used was the same with which Mohd.Yousuf Halwi was shot. Taploo was an indomitable Crusader for national unity and an irrespressible advocate of abroggation of Article 370 of the constitution. He was out-spoken and forthright in his utterances and did not believe in putting in any mask. A dedicated and dauntless worker of B.J.P., Shree Taploo's life was a saga of renunciation and service. In spite of the fact that he belonged to B.J.P. the local Muslims of the area held him in high esteem. Their weeping and wailing on his death testified to his close relation with his people. The entire city got plunged into grief. Being a fearless fighter for the Hindu minority in Kashmir, the entire community turned out to share the grief. His death came as a great shock to Kashmir minority. The High Court and District Courts observed hartal and all Judges and the lawyers attended the mourning. Unfortunately his wife and (two sons and one daughter) were outside the State. B.J.P., Panthers party and Youth Sabha gave a call for bandh on 15th. A close comrade Pushker Nath Karnail expressed that the man of steel frame could not end by ordinary death. Only bullets could pull him down.

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ALL ROUND CONDEMNATION

The body of Shree Taploo was brought from his residence to Sheetal Nath - the temple of Kashmiri Pandits and the head quarter of the community at noon on 15th September. People in thousands paid their homage to the departed leader. People from all sections expressed their grief. Traffic remained suspended and shops of minority remained closed. People from all the districts of Kashmir arrived at Shitalnath to have Darshan to the departed leader. L.K.Advani and Kedarnath Sahai flew to Srinagar and addressed the gathering. L.K.Advani's subtle and shrewd speech was very significant. He said that Dr.S.P. Mukerjee's death had shatterd the walls of separation between Jammu and Kashmir and the rest of India. Similarly the martydom of Tika Lal Jee Taploo will not go waste. A.N.Vaishnavi said that even Pathans and Sikander could not liquidate the Kashmiri Pandits and now they have taken the vow that come what may, they will not leave the valley. All the saner Muslims have condemned this dastardly and cowardly act of killing an unarmed citizen. They realize that such acts would wreck and ruin Kashmir and turn it into another Lebanon.

The function at Shitalnath ended at 4 P.M. and the body of the Taploo was placed on a carriage and the mourning procession started winding its ways through different bazars. It seemed the entire Hindu community had assembled to express grief over the cruel and crude assassination. Hardly any able bodied person absented. This was an unprecedented mourning procession. The Chief Justice of J & K High Court along with other Judges joined this funeral. Cabinet Ministers and all the organisations of Kashmiri Pandits were present at the cremation ground. Representatives of Congress-I, Janata Dal, and National Conference were present. It took three hours for the funeral procession to reach the cremation ground. His body was consigned to flames late evening and the pyre was lit by the eldest son. Maulana Farooq of Kashmir Awami Committee condemned the killing of Tika Lal Taploo. He expressed his grief over the killing of the B.J.P.leader.

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WHERE K.L.F. STANDS?

The police circles opine that Taploo was chosen by the subversives with a purpose of diverting the concentrated efforts of State Administration to nab all the terrorists. The major break-through in arresting the terrorists, seizure of arms and ammunition has, according to police, made them panicky. They wanted to create trouble so that the attention of the police is diverted towards internal disorder. Some miscreants attempted to disturb the funeral procession at Haba Kadal Chowk but the timely intervention of police saved the situation.

People have started doubting the declaration of K.L.F. and other anti accession millitant leaders that they would not attack the minorities. The only English Daily of Kashmir "Samachar Post" commented that the promise has not been fulfilled. The Urdu Dailies of Kashmir reported that K.L.F. had owned the killing. However, a statement in Samachar Post of 16.9.1989, reads; "The J&K K.L.F. Chairman Aman-Ullah Khan has strongly condemned the assassination plan on the State Chief Misnister, Dr.Farooq Abdullah. Besides Aman-Ullah Khan has condemned the brutal murder of a National Conference Block President, Mohd. Yousuf Halwai. The plan of the Front does not include the killing of the National Conference workers or any other political leader."

Jammu Panorama. September 1989.

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1.11 SHALL INDIA LOSE KASHMIR

The humiliation suffered by Bharat when out of some terrorist group in Kashmir, five hard core dreaded terrorists were set free in exchange for release of the daughter of the Home Minister, has set in motion, the grim prospect of washing our hands, from this part of the country, the only Muslim majority State. Since this release the terrorist activities have been stepped up and not a day passes without a B.S.F. or C.R.P.Jawan being killed or grievously injured. Only on the 25th December of 1989 - Christmas day - 4 C.R.P.F.Jawans were killed at Batmaloo and Khanyar and many seriously injured. Our paramilitary soldiers are made to look like rats as they have no powers to shoot back unless ordered by the duty Magistrate.

ADMINISTRATION - HAND IN GLOVE

The valley was put under five days curfew without any tangible result of recovery of arms and arrest of wanted men. The intelligence reports suggest that almost all the big bosses viz. District Magistrate and other police officers have been giving advance information to the parents of terrorists about the Government's next day plan. That explains the wholesale transfer of all Deputy Commissioners to the Valley last week.

OPERATION TOPAC - II STAGE

As reported in earlier despatches, Zia's 'Operation Topac' is in the second stage in which top officers of administration, particularly police are covered and preparations are made for final count down to capture Srinagar Aerodrome, dynamiting Banihal tunnel and cutting Leh road. The recently concluded Pak military exercises called "Zarb-e-Momin" in which near about two lakh army personnel participated for three weeks was aimed at testing the war potential of Pakistan against India. India was described as FOX land and Pakistan as Blue land. According to TANS reports Pakistan army Generals do not hide

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the fact that if in future a war breaks out, it would be fought within the Fox land - Bharat. A senior journalist of Pakistan Asad Ullah Galib has said, Pakistan should take advantage of the present weak Government of India. He has further said that Zarb-e-Momin was meant to topple India, so that it will not repeat 1965 and 1971. Simultaneously fresh campaign has been launched at Government level to provide direct assistance to Mujahideen (terrorists) in Kashmir valley. It seeks to promote joint efforts by the Government and political parties of P.O.K. to strengthen resistance movement in Kashmir. P.O.K. Prime Minister Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan has taken fresh initiative and called for joint efforts to back up insurgency in Kashmir.

A report, in Rawalpindi dated 17.12.89 says that Pak trained subversives who kidnapped Home Minister's daughter have vowed to continue hitting Indian targets in J&K. Chairman of JKLF has said that subversives will wage a 18 months old campaign of terror, including hijacking, killings and more kidnappings. Mr. Amanullah Khan said that fronts underground guerrillas operating in J&K have been told not to touch their own people, but hit Indian property, including Air Lines, Post offices and public buildings. The front leader said that his organization has been receivng weapons but declined to specify the types of arms. He further said that sophistication of their weapons has been growing with the passing of time.

JAMMU AREA IS ALSO NOT SAFE

All these experiences and statements have given added momentum to anti Indian forces. The town of Doda in Jammu has witnessed three explosions on 9.12.89. Earlier, houses of Hindus were damaged by bomb explosions. There were blasts during recent Parliamentary elections as well. The KLF workers are active in Rajouri and Poonch Districts of Jammu as well. The terrorists have received moral boosting all along as none of their hard core activists has been arrested even though they appear in public and fire shots. These terrorists have hoisted Pakistani flags in Jammu City on the old Secretariat and in

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Mohalla Talab Khatian. Due to high corruption, our armed forces guarding our frontiers do not stop Pak-trained subversives infiltration along with arms and that too from Jammu border.

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NEED OF THE HOUR - PATRIOTIC PASSION AND INDOMITABLE STRENGTH

During 1965 and 1971 wars, our intelligence agency did a nice job but this time all these agencies have totally collapsed. They had no knowledge of Home Minister's daughter's place of hiding and have no information as to where the five terrorists released her in broad day light on 18th of December. With this state of affairs, it is not difficult for Pakistan to delink Kashmir from India. Kashmir is a land locked valley. The movement into State is possible only on limited routes and sealing these routes does not present any problem as in Punjab. But still waves and waves of Pak trained Muslim youths are pouring in along with latest weapons. It is not in Mufti's kit or V.P.Singh's wit, to solve the problem. It requires indomitable strength and patriotic passion to deal with this menace.

The insurgency is backed up directly by Pakistan, helped and inspired by the mighty USA. If you satisfy one group another will come up and take the banner of revolt. With free flow of U.S. money and material there is no possibility of negotiated settlement. Any accord with militant will only whet their appetite. Traitors are taught a different lesson. Can V.P.Singh Government displease the Babri leaders by being tough with Kashmiri Muslims who are not interested to remain with India.The leftist leaning of V.P. Singh should have taught him lessons in liquidating counter revolutionaries but it seems that clinging to power is more important to him than to undertake a major surgery in Kashmir. With committed communalists like Mufti as Home Minister and committed leftist like Gujral as Foreign Minister, the destiny of India seems dark. Perhaps with men like Arun Nehru, Arif Mohmad Khan and Devi Lal in the Cabinet that doom may be averted.

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NATIONALIST FORCES - ARISE, AWAKE !

It is left to BJP to exercise their veto whenever anti national move is afoot. It is surprising to find the suffocation of Janata Dal workers in the valley. A few of these workers in Mufti Syed's home town, Bijbehara, have approached anti Indian workers in the town in sack cloth and extended apologies for observing hartal when Mufti's daughter was abducted. In order to demonstrate that these J.D. workers are also with the terrorists, they had to join the KLF workers in pelting stones on army vehicle in this town. The police have arrested most of them. But by this arrest they are happy at least to live. This is the fate of Home Minister's own workers. It is learnt that during last three months 900 Kashmiri Pandits' (Hindus) houses have been sold in Srinagar. Many gentle Muslims who worked for India are also contemplating to leave the Valley and settle outside. Mystery surrounds the complete immunity of Congress workers of Kashmir from terrorist attacks and explosions.

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SECTION - II

PLIGHT OF KASHMIRI HINDUS AND THEIR ORGANISATIONAL AFFAIRS

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2.1 RIGHT TO LIVE

Aristotle has said, "Injustice arises when equals are treated unequally, and unequals are treated equally". Minorities of Kashmir have never craved for special treatment. They have never sought or cherished denial of equal rights to other communities. Brought up in the noble Hindu tradition of Universal peace and brotherhood, they have championed the cause of other communities whenever justice was denied to any of them.

It is our community which has seen the savagery of alien rule and worst religious persecution. Being the victims of cruel historical forces, it has developed unique tolerance and forbearance, which all the religions teach and very few follow. Acharya Vinoba Bhave after his tour of the valley, said about our community: "Being good men, they are the best friends, therefore, soonest to be chosen, longer to be retained and indeed never to be parted with".

SHINING JEWEL?

Sheik Mohammed Abdullah once described Kashmiri minorities as the shining jewel on the crown of India-Kashmir. But this "Shining Jewel" has received scant attention since the independence of the country. They have all along been consoled with the promise of a brilliant future. Their penances started in 1947. And this "Agni Pariksha" seems to have no end.

From 1947 to 1953, doors began to be closed slowly and steadily to restrict their entry into professional institutions and government services. The saying that "they could go from Kashmir to Cape Comorin" was given an un-written sanction. The Central leaders have often sermonised that "we had to pay the price of the accession of the State with Indian Union". Are we then scapegoats at the altar of the so–called secularism?

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In phase two between 1953 and 1963 the unconstitutional ratio of 70% : 30% in appointments, promotions and admissions in lower as well as higher educational institutions was introduced. Kashmiri Pandits were bracketed as socially, economically and educationally advanced. The era 1964-75 saw these principles getting consolidated and under the garb of helping the backward classes, this microscopic community was steadily pushed towards the brink.

Not content with blocking avenues of service, education and trade, the power-that-be passed Agrarian Reforms Act 1972, to depict themselves as socialists. The act, which underwent many amendments, was suspended by Sheik Mohammed Abdullah when he assumed power again in 1975. Landlordism as such was abolished in 1950 by the J & K Big landed Estates Abolition Act. All lands in excess of 182 kanals were taken over by the State without any compensation and then distributed amongst the tillers thereof. The minorities were the main sufferers. The rural minorities affected with distress and senility were eking out their existence on income from land. Most of this land had been purchased by them after 1931 and did not comprise Jagirs. They have been clamouring for right to cultivate their holdings personally, but the law did not allow on the ground of personal cultivation. It was due to timely intervention of the then Prime Minister, Smt.Indira Gandhi, that the Act was amended and finally suspended by the Sheikh, who on the eve of assuming the reins of the government promised a fair deal to the minorities in this respect. The timely intervention of Smt.Gandhi at that point of time put life into the rural minorities, otherwise their exodus would have been complete by now. The assurance thus given is still to take a concrete shape.

COURT VERDICTS - WHO BOTHERS?

Cherishing to be left alone and in peace and craving for justice, the community is in doldrums. Supercessions, malpractices in promotions and admissions have resulted in writ petitions, which almost always

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have gone against the Government. Senior teachers belonging to the community had to fight a long and torturous battle against discrimination, at the cost of financial bankruptcy and terrible psychological strain. Mr.Trilokinath and others, and Mr.Makhan lal Waza and others, battled for justice right from the State High Court to the Supreme Court.

In writ petition No.107 of 1965, Mr.Triloki Nath and others v/s State of Jammu and Kashmir the State's policy whereby 50% of the vacancies were reserved for Muslims of Kashmir for entire State, and 40% were reserved for Jammu Hindus, was held un-constitutional and hit by the Article 16 (1) and (4) of the Constitution of India.

Justice J.C. Shah, who delivered the judgement of the bench, consisting of Justice M.Hidayatullah, Justice SM. Sikri, Justice Ramaswami and Justice V.Bhargava, held that reservation was based on communal consideration and not on the basis of "Backward Classes." The State government did not implement the above judgement which resulted in another writ petition against the State Government.

Such prevailing condition at the political and administrative level have made the life of minorities suffocative and therefore a difficult one to sustain in the valley. In spite of their higher talents, they are made to suffer at every stage of life. So, they are forced to leave the valley, just for making their both ends meet at far off places.

PARTISAN ATTITUDE

Some of the so-called leaders are gloating over this situation with sadistic joy. How painful and agonising is it to leave one's birth place, more so when the place is the very heaven on earth, and take shelter in the sweltering heat of the plains for the whole of one's life. It can best be felt and not fully explained. This flow of people, virtually banished from their dear native land is on, the irony becomes intense, when on the other hand refugees and repatriates from Bangladesh,

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Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and so on are being rehabilitated. But here in Kashmir, a part and parcel of the Union, that is Bharat, we witness a spectacle of steady exodus of minorities. They can neither be termed as refugees nor repatriates. Non Buddhists from Tibet, sweet-meat sellers, umbrella-repairers, goldsmiths, religious preachers and the like from U.P., Bihar and Bengal are encouraged to settle down here and in many cases even given the prized State Subject Certificates.

There are very few Hindu shrines in the valley which have not been encroached upon by anti-national and anti-social elements. Petitions and protests have failed to move the authorities. More often than not the members of the minority community were challenged for protesting against illegal interference by such elements.

TYPICAL CASE OF PAPAHARAN SHRINE

Only last year, a mischievous section at village Salia in Tehsil Anantnag made preparations to construct a place of worship of their own on the land belonging the Papaharan Shrine. The matter was reported to the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, Anantnag, besides a number of State Ministers. Instead of clearing the encroachment, some members of the minority community were prosecuted for creating breach of peace. The Superintendent of police and the S.D.M.Anantnag, had arrived on the spot at the behest of the then Forest Minister, ShriM.K.Tickoo. The local Hindus produced the revenue records, the only documentary evidence of title to the land and showed it to the authorities in order to prove that the said antinational elements had absolutely no right over the land attached to the shrine. But the custodians of law and order had the temerity to declare to the people assembled that revenue records had no legal sanctity. This was enough to encourage the trouble-makers in furthering their nefarious designs. The local Pandits after a great struggle had to buy peace on the condition that the land will not be fenced. As a result, the land continues to be open to trespass.

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It will be of interest to know that out of 15 kanals and 10 marlas (about 84,000 sq.ft.) of land under Khasra nos. 179,180, 182, and 275 only one kanal and 10 marlas (about 8000 sg.feet) is under the effective occupation of the shrine while the rest is being treated as no-man's land.

VIOLATION OF AGREEMENT

This is just one instance. Scores of such episodes, where the minorities have to surrender their recorded and recognised rights to buy peace for survival, are a matter of record. There are instances where settled agreements regarding such places of worship and shrines have been violated. And in spite of this the State Government has been sitting tight over such incidents. The case of Nagbal Spring, located in the heart of Anantnag, the district headquarters, presents a tragic picture. Sheik Mohammed Abdullah, the Chief Minister, is the Chief Arbitrator of a dispute between.the two communities. One of the important terms of the then Award given by him was that no construction shall be raised along the walls demarcating the Nagbal premises. But in 1947-53, under the nose of the very regime which governs the State now, shops were constructed along the walls rendering the interior premises useless and giving the shrine a very shabby look - which is a great tourist attraction indeed in the heart of Anantnag. Entreaties and appeals failed and protests were snubbed as communal. Threat to the life and property did the trick of silencing the minority.

Other two shrines, Gautamnag in Anantnag and Vethe-Vuthur(Source of Vitasta) in Tehsil Duru likewise are a standing testimony to the indifferent attitude and inept and partisan approach to such cases, which as per tradition, history and legal standing, belong to the minority community.

Martand May-June 1980.

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2.2 POLL POLITICS AND MINORITIES

The recent election in our Valley has once again brought to light the pitiable plight of Kashmiri minorities, especially the local Kashmiri Pandits. Haunted and hounded through centuries of alien rule which once reduced them to a total of eleven families in the Valley, through fire and sword, this unfortunate community has all along suffered the agony and anger, assaults and insults in the most wild and subtle ways. With the dawn of Independence in 1947 when India had its "Tryst with Destiny" and awoke at the stroke of midnight while the whole world was asleep, the slavery and serfdom of the Kashmiri Pandit got a renewed lease of life.

Constitutional rights and guarantees notwithstanding, and despite the enormous programme for economic progress and rapid socio-economic transformation launched in the State, the Kashmiri Pandit got relegated to the second place in public life. Not that he was not a patriot, not that he did not love Kashmir, and not that he did not have the will and the capacity to serve Kashmir, but only because he belonged to a minority. He had launched the agitation in mid twenties for keeping the non-State subject out of State Government services. But ironically it was he who became a sort of non-State subject with the dawn of freedom, while the right he had earned for the Kashmiri way back in 1927 became the bedrock of the rapid socio-economic transformation of the State. Every party and individual in Kashmir swears time and again to keep this right alive but forgets the community which fought for it originally.

SHOW OF DISCRIMINATION

All the ameliorative measures and all the progressive policies adopted by the successive Governments in the State since 1947 bear the stigma of discrimination in so far as they touch the average Kashmiri Pandit who was a little more educated than his Muslim compatriot in 1947, and was not a millionaire though not a pauper.

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He was socially and economically as backward as his neighbour. Both were labourers, though the Hindu wielded the pen also in some cases. His community had its own proportion of destitutes and the oppressed and suppressed. But suddenly he was denied the right of equal opportunity in the sphere of education, employment, promotion, trade, etc. In spite of high judicial pronouncements by the Hon'ble Supreme Court, setting aside orders regarding admissions to Colleges, recruitment to services, etc. as biased and communal, the Governments in the State continued with the policy, unperturbed by judicial strictures. The result is that the Kashmiri Pandit exists without a living.

The Central Government, which is continuously taking all measures to safeguard and secure additional rights for minorities in other parts of the country, has remained a silent spectator of this show of discrimination in Kashmir. This has resulted in a large -scale exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from their ancestral land with the Central Government just impervious to the happening which has now continued for more than thirty five years. The Kashmiri Pandit has done well outside the State also and even abroad by dint of his hard work, devotion to duty as propounded in Bhagwad Gita and to the extent of his intelligence, which has earned him laurels. Recently a Kashmiri Pandit had the distinction of being selected to lead the second Indian Expedition to the Antarctica, but in his own State he would not be found fit enough for a responsible assignment.

The Kashmiri Pandit has to be ever on the defensive in so far as encroachments on the properties attached to his shrines and placs of worship, even desecration of the temples. He can only approach the authorities for justice but many a time he has got the impression of striking his head against a rock out of helplessness. He maintains a calm for helplessness. He has been a witness to the closure for worship of his ancient Bhairava Asthapan in Srinagar for the last ten years, without the State authorities moving a finger to resolve the impasse on the basis of records.

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It has been only once since 1947 that a Prime Minister of India has openly admitted that the minorities in Kashmir are receiving a rough deal at the hands of the State Government. But not the slightest notice was taken of this admission by the local Government.

KASHMIRI PANDIT - ALWAYS SCAPEGOAT

As in other parts of the country, Kashmir has been having a multi party parliamentary system of Government since 1947 for which periodic elections are a concomitant. In every election no matter which party wins, the sins of defeat are cast upon the minority. The winning party lashes out at the Kashmiri Pandit for not having voted for it while the defeated party blames him for its defeat. Thus in all the elections held in the Valley, the Kashmiri Pandit has become the scapegoat for the successes and defeats, though the Assembly constituencies have been so delimited as to make his vote ineffectual. The vote cast attracts abuses and insults, no matter for which party or candidate it is cast. Since the 1977 election, held under Janata rule at the Centre, the ruling party here has manipulated to use this section of the population as a vote-catcher by projecting it as the stooge of the Centre. The Kashmiri Pandit is painted as perennially hostile to the party, the arch-enemy of the people and the "fifth-column" of India in the State. This, despite the fact that every shade of political opinion is reflected in the community. This position is reflected even by the composition of its representative organisation, which is presently headed by one of the founder-members of the ruling Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. The strategy is adopted at the time of elections to cloud the real issues and make the people forget the indifferent performance of the administration's corruption and nepotism.

Elections have never been a happy experience for the Kashmiri Pandit. This is the time when voters take stock of the performance of the Government, its achievements and failure. The process of the stock taking can take different forms apart from election broadcasts,

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different parties and their leaders approach the people in public meetings, by posters and door-to-door canvassing. People on their own discuss different aspects of administrative functioning and requirement of the society in corner meetings, in shops and streets. These corner meetings can ordinarily be as useful to a democratic dispensation as any other mode of electioneering. But here again the Kashmiri Pandit must remain quiet unless of course he is a member of the ruling party and speaks high of it. Nobody tries to understand him as just a Kashmiri. He can be analytical and can help in putting matters in the proper perspective which could in turn help the administration in mending matters. But, no. He is a Kashmiri Pandit only, not Kashmiri. He thinks, and sometimes even says, that Kashmir has gained by acceding to India. He is of view that Kashmir's interests can be served better by the evolution of a constructive and harmonious relationship with the Central Government. He opines that Kashmiris should work harder, avoid wastages and make the best use of the Central assistance. But this constructive approach seems to have become an anathema coming as it does from a Kashmiri Pandit. He must become a yes-man of the local leadership. Take the Centre to task in and out of turn, or keep his lips tight. Otherwise he is an agent of Delhi, no matter which party is holding power there.

The Kashmiri Pandit has his problems. He cannot be a mute witness to corruption, wastage and nepotism which is eating into the vitals of Kashmiri's economics and environment. He has been an instrument in the process of transformation of Kashmir into a modern society from out of the shamble of its feudal past. He has contributed in the process, having got modern education, somewhat earlier than his Muslim compatriot. He has been a part of the apparatus which put Kashmir on the road to modernization. He cannot find himself at ease when he sees all the rubbish of Srinagar going to the bottom of his dear old Veth. So, he thinks he must open his mouth. And his problem starts.

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GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE MUSLIM NEIGHBOURS

It is not that the common Kashmiri Muslim harbours any animus towards a member of the minority community. Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims live peacefully as neighbours, friends and colleagues in offices, factories and business establishments. They participate in each other's festivals and functions. A large house or a lawn belonging to a Muslim is ever available to a Kashmiri Pandit for celebration of his daughter's or son's marriage, and vice versa. Instances are not uncommon when a Pandit or a Muslim places his largest rooms, along with furnishings at the disposal of his neighbour to entertain his guest. Even crockery, cutlery and similar items of daily use are borrowed for use by members of the two communities at times from one another. Recently in down town Srinagar a Muslim businessman kept his entire house along with a large lawn at the disposal of a Hindu friend of his for the Yagnopavit ceremony of the latter's son. The family shifted to the premises, lock, stock and barrel for a month. It was a pleasant experience to hear the Holy Vedas being chanted on the occasion in the house of a Muslim.

The Id-Ul-Fitr was celebrated hardly a month after the last election result was announced recently in Kashmir and many Hindus joined their Muslim friends and colleagues in celebrating the festival, having meals with them. The same is the case Maha-Shivratri when Muslims join their Hindu friends. A Hindu colleague, whose tradition forbids non-vegetarian dishes on the Shivratri has at least a dozen Muslim friends to invite on the occasion. They heartily partake of the vegetarian menu. It has become almost a custom in Kashmir for Hindus and Muslims to entertain one another on auspicious days. Young men of both the communities are seen working tirelessly to arrange for reception of Barats of each other, serving tea, snacks, cold drinks, etc.

The other day the Chief Minister, Dr.Farooq Abdullah, participated heartily in the reception of the Barat at the place of a Hindu friend

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of his. He was seen exchanging pleasantries, cracking jokes with one and all, greeting old acquaintances, renewing contacts with erstwhile classmates and the like. Such occasions are not rare in Kashmir. Not that the Chief Minister is selective in this regard. On such occasions a commoner is as good as, say, a Head of Department or a businessman. No politics, no discrimination of caste, creed, colour, status or locality can creep in to cause any friction at the occasion.

Hindus and Muslims meet as common citizens at ration depots, at fuel mandis, at medical shops, clinics, in buses, cinema halls. They talk about weather, prices, corruption, civic amenities, availability of articles of essential nature including over-crowding in buses, deficiencies of public sector, and what not. At such times they are all one in taking to task the authorities responsible for various problems and omissions and commissions of Government functionaries. They exchange 'secret' information about which functionary has 'earned' how much in such and such a deal, so normal, it may be said, and so like the behaviour and attitude of common people anywhere in the world.

Instances are not wanting of neighbours, or friends of the two communities coming to one another's assistance by way of financial help, advice, formulatiion of strategy, etc. enabling one another to face a difficult situation. It is in this background that one is puzzled to see such bosom friends, colleagues and neighbours suspecting one another in certain conditions, particularly at election time.

LEADERS TO BE BLAMED

It is clear beyond all doubts that the Hindus and Muslims do and can live happily and peacefully together. They have done so for centuries and there are very few instances during the recent past, of the Muslims running after the blood of the minority in normal times. Not that the record of Kashmir is unblemished on this front. But whenever members of the minority community became targets of communal frenzy, the cause could be traced directly to provocative

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utterances of leaders. Such occasions, though rare, can be termed as abnormal. There is always something at stake at such times for some leader who naturally wants it to be impressed upon his majority community on such occasions that he is all for them and their interests. He just does not have any other consideration for what he does or does not do at such times. It can be said that the leader tries to sow the seeds of suspicion between Muslims and the otherwise insignificant Hindu minority at such times consciously with the sole aim of marshalling the Muslims behind him. Election is one such occasion.

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During the last two decades we have been a witness to a few instances of such provocation. The Kashmiri Pandit agitation of 1967 could not be controlled by the then Government in spite of ruthlessness, harassment, mid-night raids for arresting people and arresting aged fathers for the firmness of their sons. The agitation was peaceful and within the four corners of law and the constitution. Muslims as such did not intervene and watched the embarrasment which the Government had invited upon itself by its acts of omission and commission. Finding no possibility of even a face-saving formula to save its throne, the "progressive" leadership at the time did not hesitate to utilize the services of "hired-goondas" to teach the agitators a lesson.

It did not strike the authorities then that they were taking recourse to an extra constitutional method to crush the agitators who had not stepped beyond the jurisdiction of law. The result is known. The dilapidated Samadhi of the victims of the frenzy unleashed by the leaders then in the Shitalnath premise is the mute witness of what happened at the time when the Government felt helpless on all fronts.

USING HINDU CARD TO AROUSE PASSIONS

In 1981, the Income Tax Department chose to strike at some "prominent tax evaders" of Srinagar. It was alleged by the State

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leadership at the time that the "raids" were politically motivated, and a hue and cry was raised from political platforms. General people, however, refused to get provoked as they perhaps thought they would enjoy for some time the discomfiture of at least some of the neo-rich who had gone to the top within the twinkling of an eye. 1982 saw some problem come up between the State Supplies Deparatment and the Food Corporation of India which resulted in shortage of rationed rice. The matter was again politicised. It culminated in the "Hindu chauvisnists and communalists of North India" speech of Sher-i-Kashmir at the Hazratbal Shrine towards the end of May,1982. The word "Hindu" would surely have aroused passions to the discomfiture of the Kashmiri Pandit. But immediately thereafter the then Chief Minister, the Late Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, took ill for the last time. The import of the speech stands incorported in a booklet compiled by the then Speaker of the J & K State Assembly, Shri A.R.Rather, who is the Finance Minister now.

During electioneering nobody seeks the Pandit's vote. His vote does not matter. He, not his vote, becomes significant only when the question of marshalling Muslim majority votes comes up. The Congress takes the Pandit for granted, for reasons best known to it. It generally puts up a Hindu candidate in the Habakadal constituency of Srinagar where the Kashmiri Pandits stand concentrated. Even the B.J.P. finds it expedient to contest this seat.

On the other side of the tether, the now ruling National Conference finds it necessary to remind the Pandit that he was "saved in 1947; otherwise he is not to be counted. He is an "agent" out to wreck the "individuality" and "dignity" of Kashmir. He is not "interested" in the prosperity and prospects of Kashmir. He does not find it possible to join the anti – Centre "chorus" of his compatriots on every issue, small or big. But he "owes" his vote to the party which "saved" him in 1947, for all time to come. He, along with his progeny, is "bound" for generations to come to vote for his "saviour" of 1947. So he is not to be lured into the party. He must come to it, in spite of being

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told that he cannot be considered for more than one percent of Government bounties. He cannot be saved in future by anybody. The "Indian Army" cannot save "you", Mrs Gandhi cannot save "you" he was told by no less a person than the Chief Minister himself during May-June 1983 repeatedly.

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It was in this background that the President of All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, the only representative non–political organisation of the Kashmiri Pandit, had to advise the members of his Biradari to vote according to their individual "conscience". This, they would have done even without the advice, and they did it. But are they believed? They will never be. They are to be made use of, otherwise.

Immediately after the elections this minority is completely ignored when the Government distributes its bounties or takes up plans for economic development. Its proportion in services and admission to higher and technical institutions declines year after year. The time may not be far off when it comes to zero.

The recent election is an eye opener for this section of population in the valley and it calls for serious thought and concerted action.

Martand - July 1983

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2.3 KASHMIRI PANDITS AT THE CROSSROAD

Kashmiri Pandit community stand on the crossroad of history with all the evil forces poised against it. Not a single day passes without report from some village, town or mohalla in the city regarding an assault here and theft of an idol there. Land grab of this community has become the order of the day. During the last three months historical holy shrines of Kashmiri Pandits in Vetesta Veering, Tehsil Dooru', Siligam Shivala, a Shrine in Tehsil Pahalgam and Lokbawan in Doru Tehsil have been desecrated. There is a planned conspiracy to harass this unfortunate community by patronized anti social elements who have, it seems, earned the anticipatory clemency of ruling parties since 1947. It has been established beyond any shadow of doubt that in this organized assault, be it Vetesta, Siligam, Lokebhavan or at Tral, all the political parties, Jamat Islami, National Conference(F), National Conference(K), Congress(I) join hand and have not even a word of condemntaion against these encroachments, abuses and attacks on the members of minority community. It is a matter of Police and Intelligence record that important party leaders of National Conference(F) and Congress(I) have given their tacit approval and active support to these lawless lizards, for belabouring the minority community at Siligam and Lokebhavan. The local administration is directed on telephone not to execute the warrant against the known miscreants and pressure is mounted on them to exact concessions from the minority community. This community is being asked to surrender even what is left behind by the encroachers at the point of gun. The writ of Prime Minister regarding protection to places of worship of minority community does not run on this side of Banihal. The Government of India has been heavily guarding the Babri Masjid on Ram Janma-Bhumi and the other mosque at Krishna Janma Bhumi and does not allow the majority community to enter these sacred premises of their prophets, but alas! we are daily witnessing the devil dance of the evil forces bent upon depriving this community of even the places of worship and cremation ground after completing the project of denuding

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it of their lands and depriving it of constitutional rights of services and training in medical and other institutions on the strength of their merit and ability.

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LUXURY OF ELECTION

Thus placed between the devil the and deep sea, this community can ill afford the luxury of contesting in election to its representative organization - All State Kashmiri Pandit conference. When this community is facing a grim challenge to its very existence, it looks Utopian to talk about election contest which experience has taught has divided this community into hostile camps. These contests will further corrode the community and blunt its sharpness for united struggle for its very survival. The last contest brought into existence an All India Kashmiri Pandit Conference. It is a matter of deep concern for all the well wishers of this minority to use their good offices in bringing about a consensus, regarding the Presidentship of the Sabha which alone can give us the strength and sustain on a valcano and if we do not still realize the dimensions of the dangers, we may end as a historical episode, without even the last rites being performed.

INCIDENCE AT TRAL

I, along with a batch of colleagues including the Vice–President of ASKPC visited the town of Tral. Muslims engaged Bihari labourers for construction of building on their own land for which demarcation was given and both the communities felt satisfied. The anti-social elements thus failed to start a row over demarcation. They started pelting stones on the tin-shed so that the general Muslims believe that Pandit boys of an adjoining house were the mischief mongers. At about 9 a.m. a cry was raised that Hindus were pelting stones. This cry attracted the local Muslims. This assemblage took the shape of procession which raised slogans against the local Pandits, Rajiv Gandhi and India. Someone from the procession fired two gun shots. The nearby Pandits were scared, some of the ladies fainted and most of

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the Pandits took shelter in the nearby Muslim neighbours' for the night. In the meanwhile the procession marched towards Devibal shrine where they desecrated the shrine, removed some steps of the staircase, the Shiv Linga and broke the photos of the deities. The Pandits narrated the entire fact and told us that instead of arresting the miscreants the Police arrested a Sikh and a Pandit boy. The Superintendent of Police and Deputy Commissioner who arrived at the dead of night assured the Pandits of their safety. We saw police patrolling the town as we returned at 9 p.m. on 11.7.1985 from the town.

EVOLVE CONSENSUS

In this background (when the anti-India forces have armed themselves for an all out assault on this community, the symbol, sentinel and signpost of India's accession) the conscious section of this community must sink their personal differences and pool their energies to meet this challenge as one man. This is no time to indulge in the pastime of dog and bull fights. Every minute wasted in this acrimonious debate and character assasination will push us into the hinterland of degradation, add dismay and unpardonable felony. Let us therefore rise to the occasion and put up a consensus candidate who will lead us in this defensive fight against the combined attack of pronounced anti–Indian elements as well as those who are wolves in sheep's çlothes. The Pandits of Srinagar have to give this lead and it is they who have to evolve a common candidate who will lead the light brigade of our community.

Martand - 26.7.85

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2.4 PANDITS WANT PEACE

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The Kashmiri Pandits have been accused of exaggerating the February 20 incidents and blowing them up beyond proportion. They have also been equated with the Indian minority elsewhere and the riots in other parts of the country with the February happenings in Kashmir. The Indian minority - the Muslims - have all along rallied round the leadership which believed in two-nation theory and opted for the same while voting for elections to the provincial Assemblies under the Act of 1935.

But the secular India, accepting partition on the basis of the two-nation theory, did not drive away the minority which fought for Pakistan as the only land in which the Muslims can live in peace with honour. The Kashmir minority, which lives in secular India, cannot be accused of working against the concept of free India. Nor can it be accused of ever entertaining the idea of liberating Kashmir from the so–called clutches of India. Secondly can anyone point out a single instance when this minority has indulged in any act which irritated the religious suceptibilities of the Muslims? Have the Pandits of Kashmir organised any violent march or an armed protest even when two-third of their shrine land were encroached upon? There has never before been a communal riot in Kashmir. Even such provocative acts as the desecration of the temple at Vetesta or Amira Kadal, the transformation of the Siligam historic shrine into Auguf, and several other acts have never led to any communal strife. If such a docile, peace-loving and law abiding community as Kashmiri Pandits is assaulted, dozens of their villages plundered and houses ransacked, can anyone call it a minor affair? The Kashmiri Pandit is the proud product of this land who is loyal to India and it is this loyality that has attracted all the atrocities on him. In this background their protests and cries are justified. They have never demanded any extra-consitutional rights or communal representation. They have only demanded equal rights as citizens of the State. The demand is for equality before law. Why should the son of a Hindu person who gets 75 percent marks

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be rejected while the son of a business magnate with lesser marks be admitted to medical and engineering colleges?

Kashmiri Pandits always want to live in peace with their Muslim brothers. Let us close the chapter of acrimony. The moral and spiritual teachings of the sages of both the communities are the rich inheritance that should not be dissipated in debasing debates and verbal bouts. Our shrines are standing closer to one another only to remind us to come together and think together so that the seeds of jealousy and bigotism do not sprout in this land which Firdousi has called the "Paradise on earth".

Hindustan Times - 19.5.1986

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2.5 TRAUMA OF THE KASHMIRI PANDIT

The author Qurrat-ul-Ain writing in Kashmir Times dated 21 August, 1986 has accused the Kashmiri Pandits of exaggerating the 20th February, 1986 incidents and blowing them up beyond proportion only to malign the majority community not only in India , but in Britain and U S A as well. My enquiries about the author of these important discoveries could not lead me to any identity and the queer thing about such a name is its gender. Be it he or she, the author has equated the Kashmiri minority with the Indian minority and the riots in India with February, 1986 happenings in Kashmir.

The basic difference between the two minorities lies in the history and complexion of the two. The Indian minority, the Muslims of India, have all along rallied round the leadership which believed in Two Nation Theory and opted for the same while voting for election to the provincial assemblies under the Constitution of 1935. Till the date of partition this minority of India did not accept the leadership of late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the astute politician and genius. This top leader of Indian National Congress was given the name of "abu-Jahal-i-Hind" by his coreligionists. It was only a small fringe of secular Muslims who opposed the demand for Pakistan, while the rest were the devout votaries of this slogan.

MAULANA AZAD'S WARNING

Talking to his co-religionists in the historic Jamia Masjid of Delhi in Aug.1947 Maulana Azad said; You know fully well the chain that has dragged my feet to this place... when I observe the anxiety on your faces and the desolation in your hearts today, I cannot but recollect the forgotten events of the last few years. You remember that I called you and you cut off my tongue, that I took up my pen and you chopped off my hand, that I wanted to walk and move and you trimmed my feet, that I wanted to turn over and you broke my back . . . . I alerted you at every sign of danger and you not only

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ignored my call but revived the old traditions of denial and neglect with which the people used to face the call of truth. The result is before you. Today you are surrounded by those very dangers whose dread had led you astray from the right path. If you ask I am today nothing more than something inert, a long last cry of someone who spent his life in his homeland like a stranger . . . My feelings are hurt and my heart is aggrieved. Will you consider what path did you adopt ? What stage you have reached so far and what is your position now ? If you live with fear now, if you feel mentally deranged, IT IS THE JUST RETRIBUTION OF YOUR PAST DEEDS. It is not long ago when I told you that the two-nation theory was the death-knell of a life of faith and belief. I urged you to forgo it because the pillars on which you relied were soon to shatter into pieces. But you heeded me not . . . . you see that those on whom you relied for support have forsaken you, left you helpless at the mercy of fate . . . The Englishman's Chess Board was over turned against your wishes and the idols that you carved to seek guidance deserted you . . . Today India is free and you can see how the flag of free India is waving majestically from the ramparts of the Red Fort. It is the same flag which used to be the object of redicule of the rulers and the butt of their jokes when unfurled earlier. It is correct that time has not taken a turn according to your desire; on the other hand it has shown due deference to the birth-right of a nation and fulfilled her aspiration. AND IT IS THIS TURN OF EVENTS THAT HAS MADE YOU APPREHENSIVE TO A CERTAIN EXTENT . . .But the secular India accepting partition on the basis of two–nation theory did not drive away the minority which fought for Pakistan.

CLEAN RECORD OF KASHMIRI PANDITS

The Kashmir minority which lives in secular India cannot be accused of working against the concept of free India nor can it be accused of ever entertaining the idea of liberating Kashmir from the so-called clutches of India. Secondly, can any one point out a single instance where this molecular minority has ever indulged in any act

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which would irritate the religious susceptibilities of its Muslim brothers. Has the Pandit ever rejoiced in the gloom of his Muslim inhabitant ? Has he not joined in the mourning assemblies and processions organised by the Muslims on the painful and shocking event of the theft of the holy relic ? Has he not participated in the grief expressed over the sad demise of a religious leader of the Muslim community? The entire Kashmiri minority participated in the funeral procession of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah with conches and bells.

The Kashmiri Pandit has patiently and persistently swallowed all the acts of ignominy and injustice. Has he ever protested against the often repeated remarks of "Bata Hayhar" hurled against him in Bazar and street ? Has he ever revolted against the change of nomenclature of the villages with Hindu names ? Has he ever waved a lathi or wielded a knife thoughout his history? Has ever any explosive substance been found in his home ? When Hassan Pacha murdered a Kashmiri Pandit in Ganpatyar, did he attack his co-religionists ?

Mr. or Mrs. Qurat-Ul-Ain must realize that there has never been a communal riot in Kashmir. It has always been a one-sided affair. The desecration of his temple at Vethestha or Amira Kadal, the transfer of Siligam historic shrine into Auquf, the placing of fresh cut head of a bull on the Shiv Lingam at Bijbehara temple, the forcible occupation of part of Bairav Temple at Chatbal has never led to any communal strife or even explosion of cracker to frighten the aggressor. This is the history of Kashmiri Pandit and if such a docile, peace-loving and law abiding citizen is assaulted on one hand and the same day dozens of his villages and towns attacked, hundreds rendered homeless, 45 temples destroyed, village after village looted, houses ransacked, windows and doors smashed, and all this happening on the same day and in the same manner, can you call it a minor affair?

Why is it that this community is always the whipping boy of anti-Indian forces in the Valley ? Whenever Pakistan wins a match, why has this community to receive the shower of stones and volley

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of abuses ? If some people somewhere in the world attack a mosque why is the Pandit made to bleed for it ? Does it at all happen with the Indian minority ? Has the Kashmiri Pandit ever rejoiced over defeat of Pakistan ? Has he ever shown disrespect to its national flag or to its national anthem ?

The Kashmiri Pandit is the proud product of this land who is loyal to India and it is this loyalty that has attracted all the atrocities on him. He is loyal to India and that is the cause of his suffering. If today he betrays India and works for Pakistan, this Kashmiri Pandit would be hailed as the greatest benefactor of humanity and he would command respect and love among the majority community. It is for this reason that his security is the prime responsibility of the Government of India. The reports of February 1986 atrocities that have appeared in the press, were verified by the representatives on the spot. The reporters have taken the photos of the places affected and even the TV has full information about the damages. This onslaught on the Pandit community has reoccured after the 14th century idol-breaking spree of Sultan Sikander.

For all these centuries, Kashmiri Pandit has never witnessed such a whole-sale destruction of his places of worship. He has never experienced such a large-scale organised arson and loot of his property. In this background, his protests and cries were justified. Even God has to respond to the fervent call of His subject who does not rely upon his own might but only on His protection. The Pandits have all through these ages worked for communal peace and hormony. This is an article of faith with them.

The Kashmiri Pandit leaders, Prem Nath Bazaz, Jia Lal Kilam, Kashyap Bandhu, who at one time or the other were the Presidents of Yuvak Sabha were signatories to the charter of demands presented by the Kashmir Muslim Conference. The association of Pandits of repute, the leaders of the community with the Muslim Conference made its leader Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah to convert it into National

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Conference. This cream of Kashmiri Pandits fought against the autocratic rule of Maharaja who was a Hindu. The Kashmiri Pandit has stood shoulder to shoulder with Muslim brothers even during the Sikh rule in Kashmir. When the Sikh general Sardar Phool Singh was ready to demolish the Shah Hamdan Mosque at Fateh Kadal Srinagar, by his artillery fire. Birbal Dhar rushed to the spot and placed himself before the mouth of the cannon and thus saved this sacred mosque. The Kashmiri Pandit has as much respect for the Muslim saint, shrine and mosques as for his temple and his attendance at some places of Muslim reverence is more than that of Muslims. There is not a single facet of life in which the Kashmiri Pandit can ever entertain an iota of animosity against his Muslim brothers.

INHERENT TALENT AND HARD WORK OF KASHMIRI PANDITS

It cannot be doubted that the Pandit everywhere has risen through his hard labour and inherent talent. Be it an Antarctica expedition or space travel, be it the ship–building in U.S.A. or working in NASA institute, Kashmiri Pandit has made his mark everywhere. He is carved for something higher and nobler. He does not want to be reduced to the drawer of water and hewer of wood. He tolerates the disappointment at being rejected in his land though securing highest marks in the qualifying eligibility examinations or at the competitive tests which are open for all. The complaint about the small number of Muslim employees in All India Service like Banks, Insurance, Post Office and Audit is grounded on ignorance of the norms of appointment. A first class Matriculate gets appointment in Post Office on a mere application. The other Departments appoint their staff after conducting efficiency tests in the form of written and oral examinations. Nepotism and political clout cannot corrupt the admission in such services.

When Persian was the State language, the Pandit switched over to this language and he offered his worship and prayer in Persian

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couplets. So much so, that Kashmiri Pandit Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had to assist his colleague at Bar in reading Urdu and Persian court papers to Mr.Jinnah and translating them into English. The Indian Muslim pleads for reservation in services and admissions to technical institutions. He wants Urdu to be accepted as the State language. He wants Muslim majority districts to be carved out. The Kashmiri Pandit has never raised these questions. He wants to live in peace with his Muslim brother. He is satisfied if the Muslim follows his Islam in its true spirit. He reciprocates all good gestures of his Muslim brother. Even in the dark days of February 1986 the Kashmiri Pandits cabled to the press the patriotic and humanistic role of some of his Muslim neighbours in protecting his life and property. In all the resolutions passed all over the globe by Kashmiri Pandit Associations and even the one presented to M.Reagan of U.S.A. this noble and heroic role of his Muslim neighbour has been highlighted. It is this silverlining in the bleak atmosphere that has not shaken his faith in humanity. The role of the members of Jamat Islami in Kashmir this time was praiseworthy. They have demonstrated as true Muslims in a series of write–ups appearing in Martand, Excelsior, Jammu Panorama and Organiser. If insteasd of condemning the Kashmrii Pandit for his plight the writer like "Kaiser Kalender" and "Qurantul Ain" would have enlightenend the Muslims about the teachings of the Prophet and the message of Quran, they would have rendered valuable and matchless service to the cause of peace and amity. By minimizing the devastatioin and devaluing the destructiion of the places of worship these writers indirectly encourage such acts of vandalism.

FORCED EXODUS

The memorable precedent of Prophet regarding the non–Muslim women who would throw dirt on him is a light house for the war torn and strife ridden present day society. The Jamat Islami workers who did not officially join in receiving Baba Amte did what their religion taught them. Qurat Ul Ain has been impressed by Baba Amte's statement, little knowing that the Knit-India crusader in the caravan

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of vehicles was received and welcomed by these very people who are the perpetrators of the tragedy of February 1986. Have not some of the workers of National Conference and Congress(I) in the Valley actively indulged in acts of arson and loot ? Are they not facing trials in the Courts ? And how do you expect that Baba Amte, without moving into the areas of destruction and meeting the victims, would speak about the reality. He narrated what was dinned into his ears by these very people who carried fire and stone to Pandit villages and towns.

Regarding exodus, it can best be felt and not explained. This flow of people virtually banished from their dear native land is on. A petty clerk or a teacher or a vegetable vendor roaming in the streets of Jammu, Delhi or Calcutta throughout his life, cut off from his near and dear, is not enjoying the pastures. He is forced by situation to seek his bread elsewhere. He pants and pines to return to his home. East or West, home is the best. He does not stray into green pastures but he burns himself in the scorching heat only to make his both ends meet. The Exodus has been advised by Prophet of Islam and Hinduism as well when life is impossible in a particular part of the land or State. This is no voluntary choice. It is forced by the exigencies of the situation.

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2.6 SECULAR INDIA AND OUR MINORITIES

The recent demonstrations and protest hartals in the valley were directed against the policy of admissions to B.E. course in Regional Engineering College, Srinagar, in which Muslim candidates of the State have secured about 50 percent and non-Muslims of the State have secured the remaining 50 percent seats. The Hindus constitute minority in this State while the Muslims form minority in the rest of the States of India. As correctly pointed out by our Prime Minister that a community may be in majority in one State but it may be a minority in another State. The case of Punjab is the best example where Hindus are in minority and Sikhs in majority. Prior to these admissions, the Governor had initiated some integrationist measures to bring the State at par with India. The combined effect of these steps resulted in uprising against the Governor who till the other day was hailed as hero and redeemer of all our ills. That explains the aspirations of the people of Kashmir. Kashmiri Pandits have secured only 28 seats out of 177 and that too only on the basis of merit. In this merit list, out of 88 candidates 28 are Kashmiri Pandits, 32 Muslims, 27 Jammu Hindus, one Sikh. No Kashmiri Pandit has been selected from S.C., Gujar and Bakerwal, and other backward areas, Line of control, Freedom Fighters, Defence Personnel, Sportsmen and Physically handicapped. Thus the Kashmiri Pandits have obtained these 28 seats strictly on the basis of merit and no concessions have been given to them on the basis of their being in a molecular minority. But in spite of this Kashmiri Pandit is facing the wrath this time indirectly in the form of volley of abuses and insults as if he has stolen some valuable property of his Muslim brother.

The record of the services rendered by this minority of Kashmir is so brilliant that in any other country this community would have been at the top. Being the sentinels of India, braving all the adversities, this community has sacrificed all for the glory and greatness of India.

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The pioneers of freedom struggle have been supplied by this community and even today the top foreign service is epitomised by the two Kauls- the two ambassadors in USSR and USA. But alas! this minority has no value for this State! These patriots and watch dogs of our country are an eye sore to the enemies of the nation and they are the target of the assault of the enemy. This minority is the most loyal and partriotic force which has never claimed any special rights nor any special district nor any other special favour.

MINORITIES OUTSIDE THE STATE OF J & K

The recent meeting of the National Integration Council issued directions to the Central Departments, Heads of Public Sector Undertakings and Chiefs of Police and Para Military Forces and the State Govts. to give special concession to the minority community in recruitments. These directions are based on 15–point programme chalked out by Smt.Indira Gandhi in 1983 and sent to various departments, and State Governments. Points 8-12 of this programme recite 'Recruitment to State and Central Services' in which the concerned authorities were ordered to make composition of selection Committees "representative" to give special consideration to minorities. In pursuance of her directive, the 'Ministry of Home Affairs' had issued instructions to five Central Police organisation CRP, BSF, CISF, Assam Rifles and Indo-Tibetan Border Police for recruitment of minorities in these forces particularly Muslims. Recruitment teams were sent to minority concentration areas and minority educational institutions. In this connection the Department of Education has set up some Extension Centres in 10 community Polytechnics in minority concentration areas to provide short term tehnical training. These Polytechnics are 1) Govt. Polytechnic, Moradabad, 2) Aligarh Muslim University, 3) Govt.Polytechnic, Ajmer, 4) M.S. Polytechnic, Kilakarai (Tamilnadu), 5) Lucknow Polytechnic, Lucknow, 6) Govt. Polytechnic, Ranchi, 7) New Delhi Polytechnic for Women, New Delhi, 8) Father Angels Polytechnic, Verne, Margoa (Goa), 9) G.B.Pant Polytechnic, New Delhi, 10) S.V.Govt Polytechnic, Bhopal. For giving

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special consideration to minorities in recruitment, instructions were issued to all State Governments for making selection Committees representative by 31st December, 1985. The Bureau of Public Enterprises had also written to Heads of all public undertakings to implement the directive.

The Department of Banking had similarly issued orders to all Nationalised Banks for making selection Committees for recruitment "representative". At the instance of the Ministry of Welfare, the Department of Banking has issued detailed instructions recently reiterating its earlier instructions and has also exhorted all the Nationalised Banks to set up a Minority Cell to monitor minority recruitments. The Home Minister, Buta Singh, told the council that the proportion of minorities in the new battalion raised by the Centre has increased.

POLICY OF NATIONAL DISINTEGRATION

It was also disclosed that most States have implemented these directives. Shree Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of West Bengal wondered as to how special consideration to the minorities could be shown in view of constitutional provisions which do not allow any discrimination on ground of religion. Shri L.K.Advani referred to the quotation from the Prime Minister's speech in the National Integration Council meeting on 7th April, 1986 in which he had said, "When we talk of minorities and majorities, the picture changes depending on the region that we are talking about. The majority in one part may be a minority in another part. The minority feels threatened and the majority must give confidence." As reported by Radiance 21-27 September under NIC RESOLUTIONS, " As per the report of Union Home Minister, Mr.Buta Singh on the 15–point programme for the welfare of minorities issued by P.M. some concrete steps have been taken by the Centre. In the new battalions of police and security forces formed there–after the minorities were being given proper representations in proportion

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to their population". When these directions are given to the Government of J & K, the ex Chief Minister Sh.G.M.Shah after procrastination wrote back that he did not consider the Hindus of the State of J & K as minority. As such no such considerations were shown to the minority of this state.

It will not be out of place to mention that the Constitution of India forbids any concession on the basis of religion. The Supreme Court has struck down many orders especially the 60-40 ratio of J & K Govt. The Constitution recognises Schedule Caste and other social Castes, backward areas, etc. for special treatment in matters of admission and recruitment. But the Government of India in its solicitude for minority welfare has issued orders which even go against the Constitution. The Government of India has been warned about its proportional representation to communities while restructuring the police by an experienced officer BF Shah in The Statesman New Delhi 2-9-86 :"If the police force in a sensitive district is reorganised on the basis of communal representation there is no guarantee that it will adhere strictly to the cardinal principle of minimum force, impartiality and good faith. On the contrary recruitment on the basis of caste, creed and community will sow seeds of communal discord right from the time of recruitment, affecting discipline comraderie and the public interest". This policy has been called an euphemism for national disintegration. But the Government of India has gone ahead with the 15–point programme.

It goes to the credit of the people of India who even after the partition of their country on the basis of two–nation theory forced upon them by the Muslim League and the Britishers, declared their state a Secular Republic. As recorded by Ashok Mehta in his book 'Political Mind of India' 93 percent Muslims voted for Muslim League in the 1946 electiions. As a result of partition, the Muslims who constituted 23 percent of population got over 30 percent of its territory. In spite of this partition, India did not deviate from its cultural tradition of co-existance and respect for all religions. In India there is not only

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no religious discrimination against minorities but they also are given additional rights which the majority does not enjoy. Though Hindu temples and shrines are taken over by State not a single Christian Church or Muslim Mosque has been taken over. The constitutional protection provided to Muslim, Christian and other minority institutions made the Ramakrishna Mission declare itself a minority. Although the Hindu laws of succession, marriage, adoption, etc. were drastically changed, Government had to rush in with special legislation to nullify the Supreme Court Judgement in Shah Banu case. In spite of the constitutional mandate for a unified civil code, the Government in order to respect the Muslim sentiments, has put this Act 4A into cold storage. Slaughter of bulls, buffalos and cows which is against the basic tenets of Hindu Dharma, is permitted in our secular state only to assure the other communities that their trade will not be affected even though sentiments of majority are involved. Our secular Governments did prohibit Janma Ashtami celebrations in Gujarat and Rath Yatra all over India, but it did not ban the Muharam or Friday congregation of Imam Sahib of Delhi or any other religious meet. This is only because of our faith in secular state and respect for the minorities. It is unfortunate that Kashmir which was the laboratory of secularism, could not tolerate one day ban on slaughter of sheep on Janmashtami day this year. The Mirwais of Anantnag District himself slaughtered sheep and asked his followers to slaughter and sell meat to show disrespect to Hindu sentiments!

INDIA - NOT A THEOCRATIC STATE

During the last 40 years seven great men adorned the Chair of President of India. Three of them belonged to the minority. Is it anywhere in the world that minorities get such dignified treatment ? Do the minorities get such a treatment in Muslim or Christian countries. Can any Muslim country allow any Indian to build a temple or organise a Dharmic Sammelan. India has realised centuries ago that a state cannot be built on religion. Islam could not hold together Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Iraq and Iran profess Islam but the war is nowhere in the end. Iranian Mullah joins hands with

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Syrian Arab and Libyan Mullah to demolish the Saudi domination.

Saudi Arabia and all Gulf Emirates support Iraq to fight Iran. Iraq and Syria are governed by Bath Socialist party but they are hostile to each other. There is dispute between Bahrain and Qattar and between Iraq and Kuwait. Both England and Ireland are Christians but there are fights between them. According to Joseph Pulivunnel, Secretary, Kerala Catholic Association, "whatever be the omissions of Indian Government during the last forty years, it can never be alleged that it intentionally indulged in religious discrimination."

In spite of all these safeguards and ameliorative measures the Prime Minister spoke at NIC "The Centre and the States need to do more for the minorities". Indian culture stands on the basic proposition of unity in diversity, live and let live and peaceful co-existance. It is this culture which has sustained the secular state despite provocations and acts of sabotage from Pakistan and Christian countries. Let the Kashmiri minority also share a fraction of these advantages and extra constitutional rights guaranteed to its counterparts. It is a tragedy that enjoyment of basic constitutional rights by this minority is resisted by anti–secular elements within and outside the Government.

Martand - October 1986.

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2.7 SETBACK FOR NATIONALISTS IN KASHMIR

Fundamentalist forces are having a cakewalk in the Kashmir Valley. The citadel of the National Conference developed cracks the day Dr.Farooq Abdullah forged an alliance with the Congress. The alliance was the price for his come back to state power, otherwise the National Conference could have been kept out of power till 1989 and perhaps even after that, given the history of elections in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Rajiv-Farooq accord, ostensibly to face elements of communalism and anti-nationalism, and to consolidate the secular and pro-India people is running into rough weather. It is a fact of history that the Union Government has been overtly and covertly patronizing people who question the validity of accession of the State to India and is helping these elements to spread their tentacles. It has once again created cockpits of a communalism within India, epitomized by Punjab.

Dr.Farooq Abdullah passed his formative years in the democratic West. That explains his secular and democratic behaviour. Instinctively he is drawn towards secular politics in the present day, a rare trait. The policy of fighting communalism by communalism and pampering treachery has squeezed the group of authentic nationalist and secular Muslims who came out openly against the Pakistan raiders in 1947 and infiltrators in 1965.

Thanks to Indian betrayal, the number of secular Muslims has come down considerably. The crypto-communal operators of a section of Congress have sullied secularism. After realizing the folly of confrontation with Delhi, Dr. Farooq extended his hand of friendship to Rajiv Gandhi which culminated in Rajiv-Farooq Accord. All the communal cartels of Kashmir combined to fight Dr.Farooq to the finish for his sin of making alliance with the Congress.

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ROLE OF MUFTI SAYEED

For the first time the National Conference fought the elections (March 27) with a positive secular and nationlist stance. Congress would have been wiped out in the Valley had not Dr.Farooq patronised it. The result was that the Congress got five out of six seats which it contested. The Anantnag seat was lost due to an untimely alliance of a section of Congress with the M U F. When Rajiv was frustrated by the election results of Kerala and Bengal, the Jammu and Kashmir results came as a major relief.

In spite of all this, the kingpin of the state Congress hawks was installed as a Union Cabinet minister and was patted and hugged by the Prime Minister.

A close look at this communal drama which cuts at the very roots of India in Kashmir reveals that Mufti Sayeed has been pursuing this Bindrenwala line in Kashmir with the tacit approval of some Congress leaders at the Centre. Mufti's support to the MUF in Anantnag, Kulgam, Homesheleybug, Bijbehara and Sopore is linked with this Bindrenwala line of politics for which Punjab is profusely bleeding.

This vascillating politics of Congress has placed Dr.Farooq in a quandry. He is under severe pressure from his colleagues to retrace his steps and throw away the dead weight of Congress from round his neck.

Nationalist Congressmen have received a setback as no action has been taken against those workers and leaders of the Congress who openly revolted against the accord and campaigned for M.U.F candidates. Congress Chief G.R.Kar openly declared at a P.C.C. meeting in Srinagar that no such worker will be expelled. This declaration has given a jolt to sincere Congress workers.

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India has removed the buffer of Tibet, and today China is on our chest in Arunachal Pradesh. By removing Dr.Farooq and making him politically weak, India is strengthening pro-Pakistan forces in the State. It will not take very long to see the Punjab drama enacted in Kashmir. The National Conference is a buffer which alone can push back Pakistan pressure and safeguard India.

Today, when the nationalist forces in Kashmir are obligated, by Pakistani inspired youth garrisons, to consolidate and fight the forces of darkness, the two parties, National Conference and Congress, present a picture of a house divided with internal bickerings on the mount.

On May, 2,1987, in a mini convention of National Conference. workers at Town Hall, Anantnag, Abdul Salam Deva made a frontal attack on his colleague. G.R.Kochak, Ex.M.P. and others for acts of sabotage during elections. The meeting ended in a fiasco. There were slogans of zindabad and murdabad.

Similarly, at a one-day convention at Akad on May 4, Congress workers hurled abuse at one another and some hired goondas even slapped and abused district president Peer Hussam Din. Jammu Ministers had to take shelter in a room. There was chaos at the meeting. Ex-Revenue Minister M.N.Kaul is also reported to have been abused.

PRIME MINISTER SHOULD ACT

It is unfortunate that at this critical and explosive hour, when we are facing a challenge from the forces of communalism and destabilization, the parties directly under attack should fight each other and be at each other's threat. If the Rajiv-Farooq accord is the only hope and guarantee for secular J & K State within the Indian Union, then Rajiv must forthwith expell all the anti–accord people from all seats of power.

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Erosion of secularism in this State will have drastic effects on the secular policy of India which it will be difficult for all the successors of Nehru and Gandhi, to maintain. The Rajiv-Farooq accord as such is a guarantee for the pluralistic Indian society. The responsibility to protect our secular composition and constitution lies heavily on the Prime Minister of India.

Current - 8.8.1987

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2.8 SYNTHETIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF JAMMU & KASHMIR

The very words "Freedom Fighters" creates an aura of respect and honour for the people who braved all the atrocities of the autocratic rulers who had converted their States into private human zoos. The sound of this insignia sends a thrill down the spine and the entire nervous system bows in obedience and reverence. The names of such freedom fighters like Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad, Ashfaqullah Khan, Ram Prasad Bismal and a long galaxy of known and unknown martyrs are responsible for our independence in 1947. The inhuman brutalities perpetrated on Savarkar brothers, the long incarceration of Tilak, Gandhi, Nehru and Azad and a host of other dauntless and indomitable fighters had added name and fame and bestowed dignity and divinity to this class which came to be known as freedom fighters. Their dedication for the motherland and their faith in human freedom inspired them to march smilingly to the gallows and put their neck into hangman's noose as if they were putting on an emperor's crown on their heads. That people would sell their sacrifice for petty coins and become recipients of Government doles had never entered their imagination. Be that as it may that chapter was closed with the dawn of independence in 1947 that wrung the curtain of the chapter of patriotism, selfless service and spirit of sacrifice. Post 1947 period started with new inspiration, a new cult of cashing the pre-independence cheques. The legislators in the States and in the Parliament gradually graduate into salaried employees passing laws after every new assembly and Parliament for increase in their salaries. Being Supreme law makers, they provided pensions to members who get elected even for one term. This money spell spread its net to those areas which would not get contaminated by its touch earlier. In order to utilise the sacrifices of these freedom fighters for party ends the Congress passed laws for political pension to the freedom fighters. Though wrong in principle it was justified on the ground of servitude and penury of most of the old stalwarts who had nothing to fall back upon

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during their old age, having spent their youth in jails and having lost their limbs in brutal lathi charges and gun shot injuries.

REAL AND FAKE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

I vividly recollect that real freedom fighters whom I come in contact, as an active worker of National Conference in my District of Anantnag, were made to run from pillar to post while people who were not even remotely connected with the freedom struggle, were overnight granted monthly pension. Shri Janki Nath Kakroo, a vetern freedom fighter who had the longest Jail innings had to wait for full four years for getting the clearance while as domestic servants, carpenters and crop sharers of post independence high-weights harvested the retrospective bumper of lump-sum pension of near about seventeen thousand rupees as monthly pension of five hundred rupees. I have before me a long list of those fake freedom fighters who have been listed in the roll of political pensioners and most of them were not born then.

Some of the recipients are convicts in offences involving moral turpitude and some were facing charges of embezzlement. While Shri Noor-ud-Din Dar Ex-MLA and Member of State Constituent Assembly had to knock the doors of Delhi Darbar for clearnace of his name although he deserved it as a matter of right, having gone to jail nad faced trials and tribulations, the pick-pockets, tyre thieves, Charas smugglers, enjoying the patronage of Ex-Congress Chief topped the list of these freedom fighters. These people are residents of mostly Bijbehara and Homeshalibugh constituencies. When such scum of society, strut in freedom fighters' plumage, the genuine fighters are put to shame and they avoid their company.

CONGRESS PARTY - THE REAL CULPRIT

The Congress party in Kashmir is singly responsible for this crime against society. It has ridiculed the real freedom fighters and devalued them before the public. Instead of commanding respect this

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long army of synthetic freedom fighters is looked down upon and the real freedom fighters are the casuality. The Congress leaders enlisted the services of this class as their storm troopers and burglars and other money spinning merchants who flourish on illegal means and illgotten wealth. This has destroyed the fountain of inspiration for public service and debased the organisations which otherwise worked for real service of the people. This policy has extirpated all the noble values of selfless service from human heart and made money making the be-all and end-all of life.

It was mostly this class of fake freedom fighters who were in the vanguard of looters and arsonists of February, 1986 in Anantnag District. The Congress Parliamentary delegation headed by Shri Sham Lal Yadav held a dominant section of Congress workers headed by Shri Mufti Syed squarely responsible for February 1986 communal incidents in which 39 temples besides other houses were set on fire by most of these freedom fighters. The Congress General Secretary Shri K.N.Singh openly declared this in a press conference, when he said that there is overwhelming evidence that Mufti Syed was behind these February 1986 disturbances.

C.G.K. Reddy writing in the Hindu, August, 18th says,"The political leadership which is honouring these freedom fighters is really honouring itself. Some who are sought to be honoured have shameful record. Such acts bring dishonour to those who sacrificed their all, even their lives. When S.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, hurried to Mr. S.A.Dange to present the arrears of pension said to be due to him, the martyrs of independence must have cursed it in their graves. After all Mr.Dange is reputed to have made a deal with the British for his personal reprieve and he was a prominent leader of a party which actively and directly opposed Quit India Movement. And yet on the 45th anniversary of that event a C.M. hurries to honour this man . . . Such are hundreds of so called fake freedom fighters, who are strangers to the concept of freedom and quite innocent of any kind of fight, drawing pension from the State and faithfully attending conferences to demand more arrears.

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The frequency with which conference of freedom fighters are held and the increasing demands that are made for their future comforts have become a big joke. It is amusing to find, in these conferences, many who appear to be considerably less than 60 years of age, the minimum they should be if they were among those who were jailed in the last stage of freedom movement . . . It is an irony indeed that those who have climbed to prominance as patriots are precisely those who have cashed in on their so called suffering and sacrifices while those who really suffered and sacrificed their all are forgotten, unwept, unhonoured and unsung. I recall how long I had to fight to bring succour to families of my comrades who were hanged in the Madras penitentiary on the first anniversary of the Quit India Movement August 9th, 1943,. It was not until I had an emotional confrontation with Nehru in Rajasthan in 1953 ten years after martyrdom and six years after independance that the indigent families of Abdul Kadar of Kerala and Satish Bardhan of Bengal got some relief. There must be hundreds of families who gave to their country their most prcious possessions . . . a son, a brother or father and who continue to live in penury.. . ..

REVIEW THE PENSION LAWS - CLAUSE

But the conduct of those freedom fighters who receive monthly pension of five to seven hundred rupees wihout the least right to receive it, use it in fanning communal trouble and in active participation of loot and arson of minority property, needs to be viewed seriously. These very freedom fighters were the standard bearers of M.U.F. in the valley and they are still engaged in anti-Indian activities.

The pension rules have a review clause and the Govenment will do well in involving the said clause and cancelling the pension of at least those who are involved in communal tension and anti-Indian activities. This is the least that is expected of Rajiv Gandhi.

Excelsior - 19.11.1988

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2.9 HINDUS UNDER RENEWED ATTACK IN KASHMIR

The promised curbs on anti-Indian elements and the purge of communal elements from the administration and the National Conference following the reinstatement of Dr.Farooq as the Chief Minister of J & K have not come about despite the press, the entire opposition and influential sections in the ruling Congress, providing solid support to Dr.Farooq. It was believed that he would steer clear of the earlier pitfalls and put the State administration on the proper rails, but the hopes lie shattered step by step.

He had vowed to clean the National Conference of all such elements who had vitiated communal harmony. His declaration that politicians were squarely responsible for all the ills facing the country, was not taken seriously. Once back in power, all these expectations have been belied.

Unfortunately Dr.Farooq's main advisors are no better than pimps and panderers who cater to his whims and satiate his fancies. With a few exceptions, people of ill-repute and loose morals are at the helm of affairs while officers of outstanding merit, efficiency and integrity have been relegated to the background. This fact was strongly highlighted in a meeting held in Mujahid Manzil on April 28, after the arrest of Farooq's Additional Secretary at Anantnag. The goonda elements in the valley have patronage of big political bosses and for acts of arson, plunder, assault and loot, not even their little finger has been touched for all these years.

INDOLENT POLICE FORCE

During the February 1986 riots, it was this force which received finanacial and political patronage and not a single accused has been punished by any Court (as per the reply to a question of Abdul Rashid Dar in the State Assembly session in Jammu) Why ? The police was

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advised to go slow in these cases by the then Congress-I Chief (Mufti Mohd. Sayeed) who was believed to be behind the trouble. It is this police indolence at the instance of higher ups which is responisble for arson and loot of property of minorities on 11th and 12th April, in Srinagar following the Rawalpindi-Islamabad blow up.

The police did not prevent the handful of miscreants (not more than fifty in number) initially from raising anti-Indian slogans and stoning the vehicles. Encouraged by the passive attitude of the police, they broke open shutters, looted the shops and burnt vehicles. Had the police acted swiftly, Srinagar would have been spared of the colossal loss of property.

FAROOQ'S ACCORD WITH HINDU ACTION COMMITTEE

After the February, 1986 riots and before assuming office, Dr.Farooq, as the leader of National Conference entered into an accord with the Hindu Action Committee after four members of this committee viz B.K.Handoo, J.L.Raina, D.P.Kaul and H.N.Jatoo, had discussed the problems of Kashmiri minority particularly the basic question of their security of life and property with Dr.Farooq. This accord reads:"It was agreed that all men of good will and influence in both the communities should bend their energies to restore the confidence, age–old tolerance and respect for all religions. We agreed to make conscious endeavour that there is no repetition of incidents of February, 1986. It was further agreed that last February, a concerted attempt was made to divide the people of Kashmir and to weaken their resolve to advance forward along the chosen path of nationalism, secularism, and democracy as integral part of Indian Union. They said that the minority community was proud to be Kashmiris and they would sink or swim with majority community. They were assured by me (Farooq) that National Conference had pledged to protect the lives and property of all minorities and for this no effort would be spared. The minorities are a sacred trust and would be accorded equal treatment

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and given same opportunities as majority community under the Naya Kashmir dispensation".

ACCORD FORGOTTEN

But, since Farooq came to power, this community has been the main target of anti-national forces who are bent upon removing this hurdle from their path in Kashmir. After burning the famous Ashram of Swami Nandlalji at Tikker, these anti-national elements deprived the Hindus of Murran of their sacred springs. Earlier a Hindu temple at Danois village in Kulgam Tehsil was ransacked and the Nandkeshwar shrine at Wanpoh was desecrated. On 7th April, 1988, an attempt was made to set ablaze the Maha Kali Asthapan at Tral. Teh Soomyàr Temple complex and Sathoo temple in Srinagar were burnt on November,21,1987. They have opened cow and buffalow meat shops in towns and villages of the valley, in spite of it being an offence under RPC. The minority has been the target of stoning and looting whenever Pakistan won or lost any international match.

As the real culprits are let off and innocent persons arrested, arsonists and looters operate openly with impunity. In Anantnag, following the Additional Secretary's arrest, hooligans pelted stones on 24 Kashmiri Pandit houses and looted household goods from some of these houses. The worst affected houses belong to Shri Brij Nath Bhat (Bata), Shri Prem Nath Bhat, Shri Amar Nath Kantroo and Shri Arjan Nath Dhar. The Shiwala temple of Herra Mohalla was desecrated and ransacked; its glasspanes were broken, photos destroyed, mike and other temple articles looted. The police was contacted time and again but no one appeared till the looters had made two rounds and had fled.

SHATTERED FAITH

The local Muslims generally did not associate with this communal frenzy. The Muslim neighbours of local Hindus abused the stone

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pelters and looters. They even fought these elements in Khah Bazaar Mohalla. It is worthwhile to record that Mahaz-i-Azadi leader Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Advocate, publicly condemned these acts of stoning and looting and termed them as Un-Islamic. He advised the Jamia Masjid gathering on 26th April, 1988, that those who were harassing their Hindu brethern were a slur on the community. But the anti-Indian elements did not care.

During this holocaust some of the Ministers were in the District. They were informed of this tragedy but unfortunately they were impervious to all this inhuman drama. They did not even visit the affected spots or console the victims. The minority in the town looked tense and desperate. Their faith in Dr.Farooq's declarations that he would protect the life and property of the minority has been rudely shaken. They have started re-thinking on the entire gamut of Farooq - Hindu Action Committee accord. The Patriotic and nationalistic people say that Dr.Farooq is not taking strong action against these elements because he wants to make it clear to the Centre that the choice is between him and the anti-Indian forces.

Organiser - 22.5.1988

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2.10 KASHMIRI PANDITS BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Will Durant was certainly right in saying that the true test of civilization is how it treats its minorities. The Government of J&K will be judged on this touchstone as all other Governments are tested. It will have to treat this minority if not favourably as provided in the fifteen point programme for all the minorities in India, but at least equally so that it takes its place in the march of India's progress and contributes its mite for the prosperity of Bharat. To understand this community, one will have to peep into its history before 1947 when the Maharaja abdicated in favour of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the administrator General of this State.

CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIRI PANDITS

The story of Kashmiri Pandit is the history of freedom movement of India. C.F.Andrews while describing Pt.Motilal Nehru as maker of modern India, writes "Kashmiri Brahmans, to which class Pt.Motilal Nehru belongs, are well known all over the world by their intellectual powers and fine appearance." In his book Ethnology of India, George Campbell writes "the Kashmiri Brahmans are quite high Aryans. Their features are very fair and handsome .... they rule by brain and the pen and not by sword". There is hardly a State in India where at one time or the other a Kashmiri Pandit was not the Prime Minister (Dewan of the State. Pt.Daya Kishan Koul was the Chief Minister of Patiala State. Sir Sukhdev Prasad Kak, Dewan of Jodhpur State, Dharam Narayan Haksar, Dewan of Satna State. Pt.Brij Mohan Nath Zutshi Dewan of Ratlam State. Pt.Moharaj Narayan Shivpuri, Dewan of Datia State. Kailash Narayan Haksar Minister in Gwalior State. R.C. Kak Prime Minister J&K State. Dewan Jagan Nath in Nabha State,. Tribhuvan Nath Sopori in Udaipur State. Amar Nath Attal in Jaipur State etc

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The Kashmiri Pandit did not only rule the country but made glorious contributions in all fields of life and has been the leading light in all spheres of human activity and excellence. Lord Birdwood who has made an on the spot study of people of Kashmir writes in his book - Two Nation Theory and Kashmir - that "Kashmiri Pandits possess leadership qualities and deserve full praise for the same". In short it can be said without fear of contradiction that Kashmiri Pandits dominated social, cultural, educational, legal and political life of India. All those Pandit families who like Sapru's, Katju's and Nehru's had to leave their place of birth due to religious persecution did not sever their connections with the place of their birth and Kashmiri Pandit Samaj. They maintained their relations with Kashmir and upheld the traditions of their ancestors. The dazzle of Western civilisation did not derail them from their cultural moorings and they clung fast to their customs and ceremonies along with Kashmiri language.

It was this collective and community feeling which stirred Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru during Pakistan aggression of 1947 to plead with Pt.Nehru for rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits outside their State. Sri Sapru volunteered to bear the financial burden of this migration. It was this feeling of oneness, with Kashmiri Pandits that was responsible in rehabilitating the displaced Kashmiri Pandits during 1947 raids and thereafter in different parts of India honourably. They were not treated as Mohajirs of Pakistan.

DETERIORATION OF PANDITS

But alas! we lost the compass after 1947. The fellow feeling and love of homeland vanished with political independence and the Kashmiri Pandit forgot his history and his mission. Unless he recollects and recognises that Kashmiri Pandit is a part of Virat Hindu Samaj, he is bound to disintegrate. Being Brahmans, the Pandits have forgotten their responsibility to shape the destiny of this country. Long after

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Vedic classification of society into four divisions on the basis of quality and action. Plato declared that only philosophers should be the Kings of his ideal state. The philosophers were what the Veda has termed as Brahmans. The Kashmiri Pandit discarded his allotted role and started aping and discarding all his traditions and customs which this class stoutly resisted throughout India during the 19th and the beginning of 20th Century.

The Kashmiri Pandit started calling himself Sahib and Babu and began to behave like Englishman. Having lost his lands, his employment and his status, he could not maintain the artificial standard which made him stoop low and he started degenerating as a class. Leg–pulling and mutual rivalry became his new culture with the result that many parallel and hostile organisations of Kashmiri Pandits came to the forefront. The Kashmiri Pandit who used to be respected and worshipped became an out-caste and fell in the estimation of others. All bad things came to be associated with him during the last four decades after independence. The People in India started keeping a distance from him.

EMULATE JEWS AND PARSEES

The one malady with this community has been too much of selfishness of its individual members and absence of common collective centres of action. Unless it resorts to sparing surgery of Satsang study of Vedas, Upanishadas, Gita and Ramayana and applies the lancet of daily disciplined sittings at its community Satsang rooms, it cannot purge itself of this selfishness which undermines this community. The factional fights and mutual bickerings can be removed only by imparting Hindu cultural Sanskars to the members of this community. This daily satsang alone can transform the instincts and habits and mould this community into its pristine pure chaaracter. Kashmiri Pandits have to learn lessons from Parsees who are of

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equal strength, not more than eighty thousand throughout India but who due to their collective and selfless conduct, are dominating the entire country. The Pandits will have to emulate the Jews who number only two and half million and who have taught a lesson to hundred and forty million Arabs, due to their disciplined and collective behaviour. Unless we change our attitude towards our conduct and our customs we cannot survive as a community which was once the crown jewel of India.

Excelsior 11.11.1988

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2.11 KASHMIRI PANDITS AND MARTYRDOM OF GURU TEG BAHADUR

The reign of terror unleashed by Aurangzeb's representative in Kashmir resulted in untold sufferings of the Kashmiri Pandits who were liquidated from the valley and those who survived the onslaught were either converted or lived in hiding. They felt helpless and frustrated. Some of their representatives arranged a secret meeting in Martand (Mattan) and decided to approach Guru Teg Bahadur Singh who was camping at Anandpur.

SIKH MOVEMENT - TO PROTECT HINDU DHARMA

The Sikh movement had risen in Punjab during the reign of Jehangir (1605-1627) to protect Hindu Dharma particularly the cow and the Brahmin. By 1675, this movement had become very strong in Punjab. In 1674 the Afghans had risen in open revolt and were posing a serious threat to Aurangzeb. Guru Teg Bahadur was the only towering personality among the non-Muslims and millions of suffering people had rallied round his banner for protection and right direction. Aurangazeb had ascended the throne of India after shedding the blood of his three brothers Dara, Shuja and Murad and imprisoning his father Shah-Jehan. It was to win support from orthodox Muslims that Aurangazeb proclaimed the rule of Islam.

Under this screen of Islamic State, Aurangzeb, according to Principal Gurcharan Singh, was in reality wreaking vengeance on his political adversaries. The earliest victims of his religious persecution were the liberal elements among Muslims like the Sufis whom Aurangazeb wanted to suppress since they were identified with Dara Sarmad, a Sufi Dervish, who was the victim of Aurangazeb's fanaticism. He was condemned to death. It was in this background that Aurnagazeb encouraged the killings of those Hindus in Kashmir who did not convert.

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DEPUTATION TO GURU TEG BAHADUR

A deputation of Kashmiri Pandits met the Guru on the 25th May 1675. This deputation consisted of 16 persons drawn from the entire valley under the leadership of Pandit Kripa Ram of Mattan (Kashmir). On hearing their tale of woe and suffering the great Guru said that this needed the sacrifice of a great man. His illutrious son Guru Govind Singh said to his father "Can there be any other greater man for this sacrifice than your goodself?" These words were prophetic. Guru Teg Bahadur asssured these Pandits that he would go to Delhi and plead their case with the King Emperor. Accordingly this great Guru left for Delhi on the 11th of July,1675 accompanied by Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das, and Bhai Dayal Das. The Guru along with his disciples was arrested on the way to Delhi on 12th July, 1675.

SIR DIYA LEKIN . . . .

Foajdar of Sirhind arrested this party and detained them for about four months at Sirhind. It was in early November, 1675, that they were taken to Delhi. During this period the Guru was subjected to all cruel tortures. When he was brought before Emperor Aurangazeb, he was asked to convert and on his explaining that he does not believe in miracles, he was executed in Chandni Chowk in Delhi on 11.11.1675 along with his three companions. The Sikh historian Rattan Singh Bhangu in his book "Pracheen Panth Prakash" movingly describes the death of this great Guru. The Chief Kazi taunted the Guru and asked him to exhibit some of the miraculous powers he was supposed to possess. Teg Bahadur wrote some thing on a piece of paper and tied it with a string round his neck. This he said would blunt the executor's sword. When the Guru's head was severed from his body, the piece of paper was opened. It read "I gave my head but not my faith". His body was taken away from the executor's yard and cremated at Rikab Ganj which is now known as Gurudwara Rikab Ganj - beside Parliament House. His head was taken to Anandpur when his son Guru

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Govind Singh composed the following verses as a mark of homage to his father's martyrdom in his "Bichitra Natak".

> To protect their faith and to wear their caste marks
> and sacred threads,
> Did he, in the dark age, perform the supreme sacrifice,
> To help the saintly he went to the utmost limit,
> He gave his head but never cried in pain,
> He suffered martyrdom for the sake of his faith.
> He lost his head but revealed not his secret.
> He disdained to perform miracles or jugglers tricks.
> For such fill man of god with shame.
> He burst the bonds of mortal clay,
> And went to the abode of God.
> No one has ever performed an act as noble as his.

His martyrdom transformed the Sikh from a pacifist sect to martial race. Gurudwara Sisganj in Chandni Chowk is the place where the Guru was confined in cell, till his execution. Gurudwara Rikab Ganj is the site of cremation of Guru Teg Bahadur Singh's body which was stolen by Jaita Ranghreta who set his hut on fire to cremate the Guru's body. He took the head to Anandpur where Guru Govind Singh blessed him "Ranghereta Guru Ka Beta".

The insane terrorist activities of some hot heads and paranoid minds among the Sikh community cannot obliterate the saga of sacrifices made by the Sikh Gurus in defence of Hinduism. The tumult by some short sighted Hindus in reaction to manslaughter by these terrorists will tear the nation. India can not forget till eternity, the supreme sacrifice of our revered Sikh Gurus for protection of Dharma. These sacrifices cannot be put in penumbra only because some lunatic fringe has mortgaged itself to enemies of nation. Let the lives of these great Gurus inspire our nation to sacrifice, personal, party and community interests for the greatness and glory of our mother country which has given birth to these symbols of sacrifices.

Excelsior - 19.12.1988

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2.12 POLICEMAN KILLS MAHANT FOR REFUSING TO ACCEPT ISLAM

It has been reported by the press and confessed by Dr.Farooq Abdullah that his administration is infested with fundamentalist elements. In fact Dr.Farooq had pledged to purge his administration and the party of these dangerous anti-Indian elements during elections and even afterwards. However, with the passage of time after his election success, while he would end his speech with this burden of the song that Jamat-i-Islami schools would be closed and anti-Indian elements drowned in the sea, in his private meeting he has been entertaining the leaders of this very gang and showering all the favours and concessions upon them.

As reported by the weekly Kashmiryat and other papers of the Valley, the leader of the Jamat-i-Islami obtained admission of his near and dear ones in services, especially police force, at the cost of brilliant poor Muslim candidates, not to speak of the merit holders of the minority in Kashmir who have always been a casualty in these matters. The patronage to these communal elements and cold shouldering of the nationalist Muslims of the Valley has created confusion in the ranks of both the National Conference and Congress-I.

The result has been that the Jamaat-indoctrinated policemen have taken over the duty of converting the local Hindus to Islam at the point of their official guns.

On 9th December 1988, Keshav Nath Mahant of famous Vicharnag Temple was beaten to death by constable Mohammad Yousuf as the Mahant did not agree to get converted. It is reported that for the past many days this constable who was on duty to protect the life and property of minority was persuading the Mahant to give up his faith and embrace Islam. When persuasions failed, the constable assaulted the Mahant with the wooden butt of his duty gun, resulting in the death of the Mahant.

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Shri Amar Nath Vaishnavi, President Yuvak Sabha Jammu and Kashmir, on that very day reached the spot and condemned this act of police crime by the very person enjoined to protect the Mahant. This incident has revived the bloody memories of Pathan Rule when Hindus were massacred at the behest of Pathan Chieftains. All the Hindu organisations including the Prabandhak Committees of Anantnag, Sopore and Baramullah have condemned this cowardly and dastardly act of the Kashmir Police personnel. But for this uproar, the matter might have been hushed up.

CASE OF A HINDU LADY

In another incident some months back a legally wedded wife of a Kashmiri Pandit was kidnapped from Jammu and the abductor brought her to Srinagar. All the attempts by her husband to recover her by warrants under Section 100 Criminal Procedure Code ended in fiasco as she was converted and the police did not produce her before the Magistrate. This Hindu lady belonged to village Frisal in Tehsil Kulgam and was married at Jammu.

The Islamic fundamentalist Organisations in Kashmir have reserved special funds for these conversions and one does not know how much money constable Mohammad Yousuf might have received for this killing of Mahant. This matter was raised in the State Assembly on December 13, 1988 by the BJP MLA Prof.Chamanlal Gupta by tabling a call attention motion. Dr.Farooq expressed his sense of shame over the act of his employee and promised to get the accused punished. He also declared that he would purge the police of those elements. However, in a malicious twist, he attempted to equate this murder with the killings by PAC at Meerut. It needs no arguments to explain the plight of the minority and the thinning number of nationalist and secular Muslims in the State, in the light of such discrimination and high-handedness.

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TRAINING IN PAKISTAN

As reported by Daily Excelsior of December 8, 1988 "two hundred Kashmiri Youths have received training at various places in Pakistan". The intelligence sources said that the training of the Kashmiri youths had been going on for the last two years. The prominent ring leaders were Abdul Ahad Waza Khan, Ishfaq Majid, Yaseen Malik and Javed. The groups were formed in such a way that they knew nothing about each other. The duty of spotting of zealous youth for training was assigned to Ghulam Nabi Butt, brother of late Maqbool Butt.

After spotting the talented, the next step was to rouse the sentiments of these youths. This they did by showing the Video films of Palestinian struggle etc. The sources said that the trained youths used to get important coded messages from various stations of Radio Pakistan at 11 p.m. This was confessed by the arrested youths during the course of their interrogation.

Pakistani media, meanwhile, have stepped up inflammatory propaganda. It made a crude attempt at inciting trouble on August 3 last when its television alleged that curfew had been clamped in Anantnag following the death of 12 persons. On November 28 last, a news item was broadcast from Pakistan Radio that a number of persons had been killed in Police firing in Anantnag. All these news items were baseless and unfounded.

BULLYING TACTICS

Meanwhile, only 85 of the 1200 Paki-trained Kashmiri youths have so far been arrested. Even Sulman Rushdie of Satanic Verses fame had to admit, as reported by Sunday, that "you go and ask. I have been to Kashmir five times in the last ten years and I have literally not met a Kashmiri of the working class who does not identify himself with Pakistan. Kashmiri will talk to you differently if you have a Muslim name than if you don't". Farooq Abdullah has also contributed

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to this double talk and double face. Lately, he has come out rather more brazenly. While earlier, he used the fundamentalists to blackmail the Centre, now he himself has resorted to bullying tactics and started the refrain of injustice to Muslims in Rajiv's India.

In fact, all Muslim leaders and organisations are becoming more virulent as the election time draws near to extract their pound of flesh.

Meanwhile almost all M U F Legistors (MLAs) have questioned the accession of Kashmir with India although they have taken an oath under the Constitution to remain loyal to it. The Speaker or the High Court has not been moved to disqualify these members. Dr.Farooq is very friendly with them and presses them into service in his bouts with the Centre. What Dr.Farooq cannot say directly is uttered by these MLAs. He has kept his close friend, Jammat-e-Islami's Mr.Gilani in reserve for these occasions.

TO HELL WITH INDIAN CONSTITUTION

While raising the issue of decrease in the percentage of Muslim population as shown in 1981 Census, during question hour on 7th December in State Assembly which created a pandemonium, Dr.Farooq accused his own officials of showing incorrect figures about Muslim population of the State. He endorsed the allegatioin that in 1981 Census all Muslims had not been registered. National Conference, however, has kept another party dark horse in Attaullah Suhrawardy, Ex.Minister, who is more fundamentalist than the Jamaati fundamentalism itself. To him, Muslim communalism is a bright crescent worthy of veneration. He also entered the fray and asked Dr.Farooq to define fundamentalism.

He is on record to have said that the National Conference joined India only with the object of making Kashmir an Islamic State, to sidetrack the issue of squeezing out Hindus from the Valley to make it cent per cent Muslim. The Chief Minister stated during this dabate

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that even if Prof.Chaman Lal Gupta were to become Chief Minister the Muslims would remain in majority. However, Mir Mustaffa said that Muslims would face extinction then. When a member suggested that they were governed by the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir which was secular, Mir Mustaffa remarked, "To Hell with Indian Constitution". Shri Rangil Singh, MLA of Congress-I, shouted at Mir Mustaffa. "You get out". These remarks are stated to have been expunged from the record. But the question arises that when these expressions are freely used with impunity, why no action is taken to punish such MLAs or to disqualify them from membership of the House.

SHORT WAVE AND LONG WAVE

It is openly said that Dr.Farooq uses Short Wave for India while he has reserved the long Wave for anti-Indian utterances and those also through his own cronies like Kabuli, Sheikh Nazir, his own brother Sheikh Mustaffa, Suhrawardi and a host of other National Conference leaders who are assigned the job of carrying on anti-Indian campaign day in and day out. Meanwhile Dr.Farooq occasionally adds his own spice to these utterances.

Meanwhile, the selfish, myopic Congress-I leaders do not realise that Farooq has been successful in destroying Congress-I in Jammu and Kashmir which is now engaged in internecine war within itself. Dr.Farooq is basically a good man but he has a weak nerve and is easily put on the defensive by the powerful Islamic lobby. Moreover, he is surrounded by a ring of people who poison his ears and misguide him regarding the affairs of this State. This ring is directly in contact with Pakistani and anti-Indian elements inside and outside the State.

Organiser - 23.1.1989

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2.13 KASHMIR MINORITY IN GAS CHAMBERS OF SECULAR LABORATORY

Words fail to describe the plight, pathetic and pitiable, of approximately seventy thousand Hindus, who cannot enjoy even the life of hewers of wood and sewers of water. Gone are the days when they would complain about the discriminatory treatment meted out to them at the hands of state administration. Forgotten are the denials of admission to technical institutions and appointments in Government services, the abolition of their landed property without any compensation. Immediately after the dawn of independence their economic mainstay, is a closed chapter for them. By now, this species would have crossed seven digit figure and become an impressive minority in the state at par with the proportional increase in the number of other community but the policies of the State Government scattered this race from the place of its birth to far off corners of the entire globe. Kashmiri Pandit as they are called have a history of persecution and torture which can favourably compete with the tragic story of Jews. After two thousand years of life in exile the Jews obtained a homeland and their sufferings came to close. But the Kashmiri Pandit, the crown jewel of India, continues to live in agony and ignominy.

KASHMIR - SYMBOL OF SECULARISM

Since 1947 each successive regime gives a pause to their torture for a year or more and then the same process continues with more bluntness and barbarism. After February, 1986, a stage has been reached when George Campbell's tributes to this race, '"That they rule by brain and the pen and not by sword" and Lord Birdword's praises for them will no more be heard as the race is on the brink of extinction. Near about twenty–five thousand have made the ditches and devastated drains of Jammu their permanent abode and the remaining are on move. These noble sons of this pious land have been crucified at the altar of Indian secularism. Had Pandit Nehru agreed to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's suggestion, this bunch of flowers

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would have flourished in any part of this country which respects them as high class Brahmins —Pandits. The idealist in Nehru could not reconcile to such migration of his ancestral race and his secular dream would have crushed. Kashmir was the only State which was a Muslim majority State. This was the symbol and sign-board of Indian Secularism. The entire country was divided on the basis of two-nation theory and Kashmir was the only State which did not accept this theory. In this way Kashmir became the ideal for the people of India to emulate.

NO ACTION AGAINST THE CULPRIT

This secularism flowed from the common blood which coursed through the veins of Kashmiris as only five centuries back the majority community was the flesh and blood of the minority. The doctrines of Ahimsa was engraved on their souls and that explains the reluctance of the majority to shed the blood of their small minority. But the prevailing politics in Kashmir has come to drain the springs of secularism and dry the founts of love and brotherhood. The Kashmir Congress is the worst sinner in this game and their paid workers and the so called freedom fighters receiving five hundred Rupees from the Government of India each month and with special privilege to their sons and daughters in the matter of admission to educational and technical institutions and appointments in Government service were in the vanguard of the arsonists and looters of february, 1986 under the command of Mufti Sayeed. They razed to ground 30 temples and three villages of the Hindus. In spite of this tragic loss Congress could only rule the State indirectly through G.M.Shah. Not a single real culprit of February, 1986 riots was touched with the result that this lawless element was encouraged and it continued its pastime of teasing and troubling the minority. All the fanatic communalists got entrance in administrative services and the police forces was infested by the anti-Indian elements from top to bottom. The line thinned with the result that no action is taken against acts of vandalism and hooliganism by the miscreants against the docile and mild minority.

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If the incidents of torture and turmoil against this minority are recounted, it would fill volumes. Suffice it to say that since the reinduction of Dr.Farooq, the acts of arson, stonning and loot have followed in unbroken succession. From Swami Nandalal's Ashram in Tikkar to Somyar complex in Srinagar there were many sporadic acts of violence against this minority. The latest is the Vicharnag murder of Keshav Nath Mahant who refused to get converted and was killed by the policeman on duty for his refusal. It was followed by a call for march to Goutamnag an All India Hindu Shrine of Goutam Rishi of Nyaya school of Philosophy. It is here that communal politics again surfaced and minority official organ "Marthand" carried the headline in 24th March issue "Will Qazi Nissar-Farooq Abdullah collusion set Kashmir ablaze".

The state administration has been encouraging the fundamentalists and communalists to spread inter community hatred and disaffection. This has communalized the atmosphere in the valley. These Mullas are provided concessions and appointment orders to preach hatred against the minority to divert the attention of the people from the burning problems of corruption and unemployment. The sensible Muslims see through this game and they do not associate themselves with the politically motivated and officially monitored communal propaganda. Otherwise the whole state would have turned into ruins. The true Muslims are perplexed over this communal game. The number of anti–national elements and communal pirates has multiplied. Not a day passes when these elements do not tease a Hindu girl or abuse a Hindu woman whether in the transport vehicles or in the streets. This element is waiting for an opportunity to set ablaze a minority temple or a house and loot a shop. Be it mutual fight between Iranian Hazis and Saudi Arabia police or an explosion at Faizabad ammunition dump, the Kashmiri Hindus in city and town, are subjected to stone missile attacks. The death of Zia-Ul-Haq in an air crash had to be compensated with loot and arson in Kashmir. The Hindu homes become public places for these miscreants to trespass and to loot. There is not a single case in which the culprit would be punished.

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No attempt is made to catch the real criminal and an empty formality is observed in filing a case against an unconcerned man who gets acquitted as there is no evidence. This had brought immunity to communal troopers who roam about brandishing their arms and thereby striking terror into minority.

PLANNED ATTACK

The Goutamnag march was halted by a more heinous crime of declaring the shrine as disputed and thereafter appointing an ordinary A.C. for adjudication of its title. The minority was still reeling under this shock when the father of Shabir Ahmed Shah was arrested by Police for harbouring the stone pelting youths on police and who is alleged to have died in police custody. The death having occured at midnight, at the best it was the police or the Government which was liable. The reports reached even to the way farer that the miscreants would set ablaze the whole town. The Kashmiri Hindu was in no way connected with this episode. But the preparations were affot from the midnight to create communal trouble. The administration did not respond. The dead body was taken in procession which covered the entire town and Nemaz Jenaza was offered at Iddgah. Throughout the route the mischief mongers and miscreants broke open the temple smashed its door and windows and pelted stones on it. When a Hindu boy requested that this temple should not be attacked he was mercilessly beaten. The elderly Muslims stirred to prevent this assault on temple but they were rebuked. The Hindu houses of this mohalla especially on the road side were considerably damaged by heavy stoning. Their windows and glass panes were broken. This day, the 5th April, rendered the minority half dead. They locked their womenfolk inside rooms expecting of arson and loot. Their restlessness and nervous tension were consuming their vitality. The procession reached the Iddgah and while the speeches were going on, a batch of about a hundred militants and fanatics set on fire the house of P.L. Handoo and B.L.Handoo.

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After this building caught fire they removed the timber from the house of Madhusudan Handoo and set ablaze the garage nearby. These arsonists entered the house of P.L.Handoo which was in flames. The looters destroyed five vehicles in the compound of H.L.Had and V.N.Jad. The Police was nowhere near the spot although the administration had clear reports about the communalist plan. These families had shifted their women and children into interior houses and were guarding their houses. These arsonists looted these Hindus and left the place when persuaded by some Muslims. While coming from Iddgah a group of people stoned the house of P.N.Bhat, Advocate and broke open the gate. The elders and saner Muslims chastized the mob who left abusing and stonning the other houses as well.

The frenzied mob attacked the houses of Reshis, Kauls, Tickoos and when they reached Acchabal Adda they again stoned the minority houses there and the houses on the road side of New chowk Bazar. The entire town was gripped in panic. The minority was badly shocked. After these events the administration awoke and clamped indefinite curfew in the town. While the town was under curfew, some eight minority houses in nearby village of Dialgam were set on fire. The temple could be saved with difficulty. Some government huts in Anantnag were set on fire on 5th April. The minority did not sleep for three days. On 8th April night a cynide bomb was spotted in the compound of Rattan Lal Dassi which had not exploded. The military experts opined that this bomb is supplied to police force. It was made in Bhopal with date of January 1969. It suggests a deeper conspiracy.

FLICKERING FLAME OF SECULARISM

This is the life that the minority is leading in this State. They are made to die inch by inch. The life of disrespect, insecurity and tension is worse than death. Not a day passes without some incident when Hindu has to drink this cup of bitterness and servitude. The soul of Kashmir minority is being suffocated in the gas chambers of this secular laboratory. Such atrocities on human beings attracts

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the (UN) Human Rights Commission but it is a tragedy too deep for tears that our Central Government does not take pity on this indigenous apartheid in Kashmir. Our Government sheds tears over the suppression of human rights in Africa but is indifferent to the sufferings of its own people. The Kashmir minority - whose only crime is that they are patriotic citizens of India. The genuine secularists are languishing while those whose secularism is visible more on their skin than on their soul, are ruling the roost. Kashmir minority and nationalist Muslim live a dreaded life from hour to hour. How long can this life's flame flicker, God alone knows.

Martand May - 1989.

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2.14 COMMUNAL CONSPIRACY IN KASHMIR

An appeal made by Kashmiri minority for hartal and mass casual leave of employees on 17th March 1989, read as follows: "Government wants to divide Hindus and Muslims; we say no to it. Government wants to communalise the atmosphere to divert the attention of people from mounting corruption, nepotism, ministrial immorality and unemployment. We will not oblige them. To protest against this policy of Government, let us observe hartal on 17th March in Anantnag". This hartal was a total success. Thereby hangs the story of Goutamnag. The failure of Farooq Government on each front and its agonising impact on the poor masses in Kashmir had started expressing itself through protests, demonstrations and hartals. The genuine demands of the people are suppressed by brutalities and barbaric methods. The mass base of National Conference is completely eroded. The animated intoxication of state power has made the National Conference top brass politically comatosed. The party cadre stand paralysed. A new class of contractors and concessionists hovering round the power centres substituted the secular nationalist party workers. Thus the ruling National Conference has no apparatus to fight the political opposition. The Chief Minister has no time for the party and the administration. The credibility of the government is at the lowest ebb. It is in this background that the coming Parliamentary elections are to be contested. How to divide the opposition vote and to divert the focussed attention of failures, is the question.

USE OF QAZI NISSAR AS A TOOL

Qazi Nissar who was earlier groomed to serve a sinister cause, had raised the signboard -'to let', but he had lost his popularity. He was now confined to Friday prayer address. His home town understood him. The illiterate peasantry still heard him. Some four months back, his meeting was arranged through an M.L.A. with Dr.Farooq. The

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agreement was made. Qazi would henceforth act on the advice of Farooq. He would keep his anti-Farooq posture aside and the administration would refurbish his sagging image as the leader of Muslims.

The Deputy commissioner of Anantnag Mr.Ali Mohammed Mir a confident of Farooq and his mother was instructed to carry out all the orders of Qazi regarding appointments, transfers and concessions. During last four months Qazi got his men appointed, employess transferred and contractors sanctioned allotment. He is given special quota of Haj tickets but with all this, Qazi does not click. Masses are not moved by those favours and concessions. Qazi is advised to touch the weakest cord. He hits upon Goutamnag idea. It is planned that Qazi will lay claim to this ancient shrine. The existence of some graves of Sanyasis will give a pretext to the Claim of Muslim graveyard as few people know that Hindu sanyasins are buried and not cremated. Qazi will give a call for march on this shrine which though would not mature immediately would provoke an alternative suggestion for declaring this shrine as disputed and referring the dispute for adjudication to some officer, whose decision would be announced before the day of March on Goutamnag. Jama Masjid Anantnag, echoed and reechoed with the call for march on 17th March on Goutamnag. This day happens to be the day of Hava in memory of Saint Mankak-Jee.

Since January 1989, Qazi is given licence to inflame communal passion by accusing the minority of having grabbed this graveyard of majority community. This communal call galvanised the street urchins, the miscreants and it provided a cover to rabid communalists. Simultaneously petrol bombs were hurled on the minority houses. The atmosphere was communalised. This news reached Jammu and Delhi. People felt perplexed to hear about this absurd claim over centuries' old shrine of Goutam Rishi - the propounder of Nyaya school of Hindu philosophy. The communal monster was awakened. The Government failures, receding back to 17th March, gripped the people. Minority was stirred. They felt frustrated and cheated by the government. They

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arranged a meeting to seek the co-operation of their Muslim brothers. The minority delegation met the Deputy Commissioner of Anantnag and authorised him to look into the records available and in case Qazi's claim had any legal basis to give that land to him. The Deputy Commissioner was made the sole arbitrator so that the matter is shelved and tension is not escalated. This solution would not allow any escalation of the controversy and the mischief would not take its course. But that was not the plan.

FURTHER PAMPERING OF QAZI

In a dramatic way the Divisional Commissioner called a meeting of D.I.G., D.G., S.P., and Qazi Nissar at Srinagar on 11th March 1989. One H.N.Jattu, a self styled leader of Kashmiri Pandits who is always at the beck and call of Dr.Farooq was also invited. Qazi's alternative demand of declaring the shrine as disputed was conceded. Notification was issued to refer the dispute to A.C.Baramullah. The decision was broadcast from radio. Thus Qazi was pampered. He hailed the decision as victory for the Muslims as centuries' old shrine of Goutamnag was declared disputed and the minority had to prove their title. In Jama Masjid, on 17th, March Qazi thundered over this victory and collected money for the legal battle. He laid claim on more shrines, the one of Jaya Devi at Bijbehara and the Nagbal shrine of this town. He declared that Nagbal shrine was earlier a mosque, named Dara Shekwa and it was illegally grabed by Hindus. The implication of declaring Goutamnag shrine as disputed and referring this case to an officer has far reaching communal consequences at a time when Hindus and Muslims are living in an atmosphere of cordiality and peace.

Henceforth every Hindu shrine will be declared disputed at the bidding of Qazi, which would generate sense of insecurity in the minority. Secondly it would fuel the fundamentalist fires and consume the cherished ideals of secularism in the valley. Thirdly it will send

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the whole valley into fire as there are hundreds of flash points in the shape of temples, shrines and springs of Hindus. Fourthly it would generate heat and hatred between the two communities. Fifthly it would force the people to get divided on communal lines. Sixthly it would lead to open clashes at the places of enquiry where both communities will gather to prosecute the cases and produce witnesses, thereby creating bad blood.

BEAUTIFUL VALLEY - NO GRAVE YARD

The cumulative effect to this policy of the Government would be the victory of the reactionary and the frenzied few but the defeat of true Muslims, the secular democratic forces and the peace loving people. The secular nationalists parties will be consigned to oblivion and the valley will turn into a graveyard. Dr.Farooq will rule on the ruins of secularism and cherished values of life and lofty ideals of humanity will be buried deep and drowned in the Jhelum. The minority is supported by the still scattered remanents of secularism and the conscious enlightened Muslims of Kashmir. They see the Hydra-headed communal monster raising its ugly head and people like Abdul Rashid Dar M.L.A., (N.C.) Mansoor Ahmed Ganai, Mohammed Yaqoob Beg, Jamsheed advocates and long line of lawyers, doctors, businessmen and editors of "Daily Shahab" and "Hilal Now" have openly condemned this communalism which will disfigure, the fair face of Kashmir.

The Muslim majority of the town has disassociated itself from this new deal of Dr.Farooq but unless fully exposed, the illiterate people will be swept away in the name of religion and mischief mongers will find paradise in such a situation. Goutamnag is two kms from Anantnag town. It falls in between Martand and Anantnag. It extends over an area of 150 kanals. The Charri Mubarak of Amaranathji halts at this place and after a dip in Goutamnag marches to Mattan since times immemorial. There are two springs associated

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with Goutam Rishi and Ahalya, his wife. This ashrama of Goutam Rishi was over-looking a big lake "Sarnali". This place is sanctified by the Tapasya of Goutam Rishi and his followers. Swami Gash Kakji, Man Kakji and Sarwanandji also did their penance here. Once this spring is made disputed, all the other shrines will attract the grabbing fingers. The reaction would be terrible. Let these flash points be not ignited. Dr.Farooq must be told to keep his hands off this dirty game.

Jammu Panorama-May 1989.

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2.15 THE TRIUMVIRATE OF KASHMIRI PANDITS

Old tales narrate stories of a giant who would not die even if hacked to pieces, just as a bird living in a dense forest cannot be captured and killed. Likewise, the Kashmiri Pandit Samaj cannot be wished away. It will continue to live a community life with its glorious cultural heritage in tact. This is subject only to one condition, the preservation of the life centres of the community. The community will be there if its life centres are preserved, strengthened and nourished. These life centres are the Yuvak Sabha, the Sheetalnath and the Martand. These are the nerve centres of the Biradari and it is these nerve centres which must be preserved, and sustained. Then no power on earth can destroy the community, the descendants of Rishis and Munis, who after deep penance, austerity and hard work projected their progeny, the Kashmiri Pandits. The three nerve centres of the community - the Yuvak Sabha, the Sheetalnath and the Martand, have been there for more than half-a-century and can be compared to the Triumvirate of Hindu Mythology - Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar. Destroy any of the three centres, death and decay will start, for the community will get pulverized.

THE YUVAK SABHA

It is the fort from which the community has fought many battles. The organisation gave expression to the community's life and its collective thinking. The individualistic thinking of the community and the self centred policy of its members were halted by this organisation of our youth, as the very name suggests. The Kashmiri Pandit shook off his lethargy and pattern of thinking and forged common links through membership of this organisation which spread far and wide. The organisation became a rallying point of Pandit politics and won many battles against the enemies of the Samaj supported by many forces and interests.

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The Sabha gained strength with every battle and established itself as the sole representative organisation of Kashmiri Pandits in the entire State. It spearheaded many socio-economic reform movements. It was this organisation which championed the cause of service rights, religious reforms, Durgang agitation, Roti movement and a host of other problems which confronted the community from time to time. The most talked about "State Subject" right is an acknowledged achievement of the organisation. In the thirties and forties, the Sabha accepted the challenges of communal forces and fought for many a cause of the community, as also of the entire Kashmiri society under the able guidance of Mahatma Bandhuji, Shri Jia Lal Kilam, Shri Shiv Narayan Fotedar and others. After the end of autocratic rulership in the State, the Sabha took up the socio-economic issues which threatended the very existence of the Community. It was largely the healthy influence of the Sabha, and many of the stalwarts thrown up by it, that transformed Kashmir into a symbol of secularism, radiating light and peace. Bandhuji, Kilam and Fotedar were epoch-makers of their times. They were Kashmiri Pandits to the core. Their dedicated service to the community and Kashmir will be remembered for ever by us. It would be in the fitness of things for us to celebrate their birth anniversaries so that our generation and generations to come also imbibe their qualities of head and heart and their spirit of service and sacrifice for the common good of the community. Shiv Narayan Fotedar kept the torch of nationalism burning and the late Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had to declare at Sheetalnath itself that the Kashmiri Pandit is the Crown Jewel of the nation.

His mantle has fallen on Dr.Peshin who had to lead the community and consolidate its ranks to enable the Samaj to face new challenges posed by anti social elements, communal forces, vested interests from within the community and others who are sharpening their blades for destroying the community.

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The times ahead are very difficult indeed and there is an urgent need to rejuvenate the organisation in the interest of the community, the Valley, the State and the Country. Kashmir has been and continues to be in the minds of international conspirators who would very much love to see the Kashmiri Pandit out of the State. In this context the issue of strengthening the Yuvak Sabha has assumed all seriousness. It is imperative for each and every member of the community wherever he may be to rally round the banner of the Yuvak Sabha which presents the only hope of our redemption.

Dr.Peshin, though fairly aged, has rendered a signal service to the community by accepting the challenge of uniting the community. In this background, the tours of Dr.Peshin to many areas of the Valley which helped re-establish contacts and awaken the Biradari to the realities of the latest situation augur well for the future. The setting up of units of the Yuvak Sabha in different areas of Kashmir provides ample evidence to show that the organisation is coming into its own after many frustrating years. It is now for the community to strengthen his hands so that he carries out the stupendous job with full confidence. His mature leadership and sense of service and sacrifice will enable the Biradari to meet the challenge of the forces of disintegration and devastation. The need of the hour is for all of us to sink our differences, petty and personal as these mostly are, and forge a strong Yuvak Sabha. This alone can act as a bulwark of the community.

THE SHEETALNATH

It has been our field of operation and the point of our assemblage. It occupies the position of the heart of our community. It has housed the headquarters of our Sabha since its inception. "Sheetalnath Chalo" used to be the common slogan, rending the air, whenever the community had to deliberate upon any serious question. "Sheetalnath has been the Akal Takht" of the Kashmiri Pandit Samaj. It is here that the

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community would converge and take historic decisions. The Sharika Bhavan and Sabha hall is the common property of the community. It was constructed by the Sabha, along with other structures at the site, which included filling up and strengthening of the moats under the inspiring leadership of our veteran, Pandit Kashyap Bandhu, who dedicated it to the community more than fifty years back. One just cannot conceive of the Yuvak Sabha without Sharika Bhavan and Sheetalnath.

It is unfortunate that some self-seekers, instigated to torpedo community life and wreck the Sabha, have started a campaign to monopolise this nerve-centre which belongs to the entire community. And to cover their evil designs, these agents are masquerading under various labels, social and religious. Let these agent provocateurs know once for all that Sharika Bhavan and Sheetalnath are as sacred to the community as any temple or shrine. Temples and shrines have their own place in the life of the community. Sheetalnath is the symbol of the very life and existence of the communtiy. It must live for ever as such, as the proof of its existence is the throb of the heart. Any attempt to tamper with this status of the centre or any attempt to make any inroads on the centre for whatsoever purpose will be stoutly resisted by the entire Biradari. Our heads can roll for the protection of this life centre, the centre of all our hopes and aspirations. Sheetalnath is not just a plot of land with a few structures over it. It is the spot sanctified by the Sadhana of our sages, the sacrifices of our leaders and the blood of our martyrs. Every inch of Sheetalnath is as sacred to us as the holy cities of Banaras, Mathura, Dwaraka and Ayodhya.

THE MARTAND

This, the first daily newspaper of the State created by and for the community by the same veteran Pandit Kahyap Bandhu and his band of selfless workers and colleagues, including its present Editor,

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Dr.S.N.Peshin has always had the distinction of pleading the causes of the community. It has unfurled the flag of humanism and nationalism, and kept the flag furling throughout its career.

It has expressed valiantly our feelings and aspirations and has lately become the vehicle of our communication and contact with the members of the Biradari spread through the country. The paper connects us with the rest of the land, highlights our difficulties and pinpoints our path to the future. Martand has reflected the bruised feelings and painful pangs of the community and whenever its voice was sought to be silenced, the paper has carried the voice of the Biradari far and wide and turned the attention of the powers-that-be, towards the legitimate grievances of the community.

I remember vividly the editorials of Martand commenting on the then policy of 70 : 30 in the field of education and services during the period of the Late Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. The paper has been a ceaseless crusader of the cause of cleanliness in public life, and against corruption and nepotism in administration. It has always offered constructive criticism of various policies in the interest of Kashmir and the State and various other defects that have crept into the administrative apparatus in the State, championed the cause of the people in general, irrespective of any consideration for caste and creed.

The Martand has been acting as the cementing agent within the community forging its various units into a consolidated whole. The importance of the paper cannot be over-emphasised. No cause can be projected, no campaign can be carried on without an effective paper in the modern times, when dark clouds are hovering around and conspiracies against the unity and solidarity of the community are on. It can be a stout, stable and strong paper which alone can be depended

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upon to convey to the world the resolve of this microscopic community to lead an honourable and peaceful life in Kashmir, the land of its birth. When all the voices are raised to drown the voice of the community, it will be the Martand alone which will not allow the voice of sanity to die down.

Let us take a pledge to preserve and strengthen the Yuvak Sabha, the Sheetalnath and the Martand so that the community can hold its head high and make its presence felt. Our indifference towards any of our life-centres will place a tomb-stone on the community. Let us awaken to the clarion-call of our patriots; "who lives if his nation dies, who dies if the nation lives", Namaskar.

Martand - Jan.1984

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2.16 UNITE OR PERISH

We want security, peace and prosperity. How can it come? We want to remove darkness, it will not vanish by crying "Darkness, Darkness". We have to light the lamp and it will go. Similarly our cries of insecurity, disorder and poverty cannot usher in peace and plenty. We must first deserve and then may desire. The West is mad after Rama and Krishna, but we know very little about our national heroes.

An organized effort on positive basis of "Swadharma" alone can pull out our society from the morass of present degeneration, and defection. We must organise our elders, youth and children in every city, town, village and impart the knowledge of our culture which alone has sustained our nation through vicissitudes of history. Worship of glittering vanities of the world will not lead us to right path. Understanding the principles of our culture is essential.

ESTABLISH SMALL CENTRES FOR COLLECTIVE SADHANA

We must know our self, our Dharma and our identity. How can we know all these? We have to sit together, walk together, and talk together for one hour daily at fixed time at a definite place. During this hour which is an hour of our collective Sadhana, Yoga and learning, we can know all that must be known. It is after knowing that we can make concerted efforts to build our character, our society and our nation. This one hour's Sadhana and study can transform our individual life and make our nation strong. A strong nation is the guarantee for our security, peace and plenty.

There is no other way except spreading these small centres of Sadhana in every village and town. These small cultural units will forge unity among us and make us conscious of our real national self or identity. This Collective Sadhana will remove our selfishness and

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ego, the twin causes of our egos. The hope of bright Bharat lies in these small village cultural centres. Spread them and consolidate them thereby whe whole nation shall stand united and no power can think of weakening us.

We will empty ourselves from the weaknesses and evils and the Lord will fill us with purity and perfection. This will be done in this zero hour of our daily life which we will spend in Kendra, Forum, Temple or Committee, any name you may like to give to this "Sadhana Sthan".

These centres will help to cultivate good and pure samskaras if pursued as an hourly cultural exercise daily as a matter of routine. It will produce good thoughts and thereby good actions. Discipline and good samskaras, meeting each day without break, will make us good citizens, patriots and real human beings with a feeling for our brothers and sisters and a sense of service towards each other. Let us start this work from this day in our place.

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SECTION - III

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHTS

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3.1 KASHMIRI MUSLIM AT CROSSROAD

"Sheikh Abdulah is on my nerves" said Pt.Nehru while talking to Bakshi Gulam Mohammad after his return from trip abroad which preceded his stay for relaxing in Kashmir. Nehru's emissaries did not break the contact with Sheikh Sahib during his detention. His children were looked after personally by Indira Gandhi, while studying in medical and other institutions. Mridula Sarabai acted as a political nurse and finally Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was made to accept the proposal to release Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. In 1958, the Sheikh was released. He was requested to visit Delhi and meet his friends first and then go to Kashmir. Sheikh did not agree. This brought a slight boost to sagging morale of the Bakshi and his National Conference supporters, who were waiting with crossed fingers. They visualised that a petty positive response from Sheikh Abdullah would upset their apple cart in Kashmir. They had started counting their days of governing in the J & K State. In spite of all restrictions on the reception by the people the valley witnessed surging sea of roaring people eager to welcome their leader. By the time Sheikh finished his fulminations against assembly, accession and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad the wireless and telephonic messages transformed the gloom of National Conference leadership into unprecedented revellery and merry making. Srinagar Bars exhausted their stock of whiskey and the country liquor vends put their bottoms up. It was a day of real jubiliation and restoration of political life to an almost dead organisation, Bakshi shrugged his shoulders and the whole night ended with rounds of stimulations to the heady tune of music, changing Srinagar city into Bachan's "Madhushala". It was a Diwali for the Bakshi Cabinet.

CULTIVATING OPPOSITION PARTY

My purpose in recollecting this incident is to convey to my good Muslim friends of M.U.F, the impact and incidence of their nagative politics which will always help and not harm their political adversaries. If the M.U.F leadership is sincere in its politics of resenting an

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alternative to the Conference-Congress combine in J & K state then the nonpolitical, negative and chauvinistic stance does it more harm than good. The role of an opposition is to oppose, expose and finally depose the Government of the day. By following the beaten track of imperialist policy of destabilizing the country, the M.U.F may magnet their money. It may raise the dust and din of political controversy but the one thing it cannot do is to depose the Government. It will mark time, at the stage of opposition only, thereby betraying the people's trust and fiddling with their fidelity. In other words the Government of the day will always patronize such an opposition which lends democratic colour to the rule but no clout to throw it out of power. Any Government of the day would enjoy this puppet show and even indirectly pay for it. One of my friends from the journalist world who was deputed to cover the election campaigns in the valley during March 1987 elections expressed his utter surprise over the deliberate silence and calculated inaction of the State Government in curbing the gross violation of election laws giving a "carte blanche" to the religious appeals and communalizing of the whole electioneering. By the time the zero hour of campaigning had ringed, the correspondent conveyed his impressions. He remarked either the Government was so foolish and comatozed that it did not take any notice of the open, blatent defiance of the constitution and the law or else it was the result of an acquiescence too subtle but purposeful and deliberate of top Government agency.

The National Conference and the Congress activists would complain that Farooq was interested in cultivating and courting M.U.F MLAs rather than listening to his own party leaders or pleasing the alliance partner. Every Government is interested in harbouring such an opposition which is ready to strike but afraid to wound. It is more or less a charmed serpent which can hiss and raise its hood to hoodwink the people but which has no teeth to bite. Thus the people are twice bitten and doubly disillusioned. Their aspirations and articulations are trampled and stifled and the ruling Mafia masquerading in the democratic garb destroys the people's faith in democracy and deprives

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them of their basic democratic rights. The people are lulled into sleep by religious "fatwas" and the communal coated pills. Their anger is angularised towards non existant issues of saving erosion of Art 370, maintaining the Muslim Majority Character of the State and safeguarding the Muslim rights. My personal experience over the years has led me to this conclusion that almost all those who raise the issue of accession or convert themselves into crusaders for Muslim cause and those who project themselves as the protagonists of Pakistan are heavily insured and they purchase legal immunity. They only befool people and play on their weak nerves. I have yet to see a man who sincerely professes what he preaches, although there are thousands from the groundlings who really have faith and love for these ideals. Some of those who are at the top of M.U.F had staked their claims to CM's office on the assurance that they would snuff out all communal oppositon and others had pledged to muzzle Muslim fundamentalist if they were saddled to power.

When Delhi Race Course residence did not oblige, they ascended the stairs of Home Department. This is to make it clear to the common people that all those loud denunciations of Brahmin Raj and Hindu imperialism are the out-pourings of a mortgaged mind. The exception in this line proves the rule.

MYTH OF A PAKISTANI PARADISE

Frankly speaking Kashmiri Muslim has been often duped by waving of a green handkerchief or exposing a small dole of rock salt. He has been exploited in the name of Muslim sentiment and Pakistani paradise. It would not be out of place to state that the man who is generally described as the founder of Pakistan - Chaudhari Rehmat Ali, was a paid employee of British foreign office. This has been disclosed by Sultan Zahir Akhtar in an article in Daily Nawa-e-Waqt, Lahore, in its issue of 17th January 1987. This author has quoted Prof. W.C.Smith to level this charge. Rehmat Ali visited Pakistan in 1948 and got involved in an embezzlement case. He escaped to England where he

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died in miserable conditions. He was buried in a Christian graveyard. This was the fate of the author of the booklet in 1933 which propagated the idea of Pakistan. The ultimate realization of Mr.Jinnah - the accepted architect of Pakistan and the representative of Indian Muslim of pre-partition days is more illustrative and electrifying for Indian Muslim. Peshawar's 'Frontier Post' records that during last days of his illness when Prime Minister of Paksitan came to see him, Mr.Jinnah told him " You have started thinking yourself as a big man. You are nothing, I have made you the Prime Minister of Pakistan. You think you have made Pakistan. I made it but I am now convinced that I have committed the biggest blunder of my life. If now I get an opportunity, I will go to Delhi and tell Jawaharlal Nehru to forget about the follies of the past and become friends again". The Frontier Post published a story headlined "Quaid's Physician Told Me" written by Mohd. Yahyajan, former Education Minister of NWFP. On the basis of what he was told by Col.Elahibux, Physician to Mr.Jinnah, 'Jinnah blew up' when Khan asked him how he was. He said 'Quaid was shivering with emotion. He had turned white like the bedsheet'. Col.Bux then told Liaquat Ali Khan that excitement was not good for the patient and it would be the best if he withdrew. Khan walked out unruffled, gave a big laugh and said loudly, "The old man has discovered his blunder". Col. Bux said that during Jinnah's last illness at Ziarat, a health resort in Baluchistan, there would be no replacement for a week or ten days when his medicines finished. The maker of Pakistan was so soon forgotten and ignored that Col. Bux records, "No body has ever asked me a word about how Quaid died or what he went through in remote or forsaken Ziarat or even why of all places, Ziarat was chosen for him in the first place".

MR. JINNAH'S LEARNING A FEW LESSONS

G.D.Tendulkar in his recent book on Abdul Gaffar Khan gives a vivid account of how Mr.Jinnah's attempts to win over Abdul Gaffar Khan and Mr.Syed (of Pind) were frustrated by Liaquat Ali Khan. Khan denounced these two leaders in Pakistan Parliament as Hindus

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and traitors. Abdul Gaffer Khan was invited to lunch by Jinnah at Karachi. After lunch, Jinnah asked Abdul Gaffar Khan, "Why do you not work with us". After discussion, Jinnah agreed to meet Khudai Khidmatgars during his frontier visit. He apologised for the remarks of Liaquat Ali Khan and said that these remarks were uncalled for and improper. However that meeting never took place, as Liaquat Ali Khan sabotaged it through Abdul Qayyum Khan, the Chief Minister of NWFP. Jinnah realised that religion could not bind the people of Pakistan and he made it clear in his first address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in which he declared that Pakistan was the country of all people who lived there and there would be no discrimination on the ground of religion. That speech is a classic example of the changed Mr.Jinnah who learned many lessons from partition of the country on the basis of two nation theory.

It is strange that some of the Muslims have fallen into the trap of Anglo-American block which was responsible for ending the Muslim rule in most of the countries and particularly in India. They were made to forget the inhuman brutalities perpetrated on last Muslim kings of Delhi, just because British conspiracy created Pakistan, a country which is indirectly ruled and controlled by them. The Indian Muslims forget that 1940 Pakistan Resolution was drafted by Zafer Ullah Khan at the instance of the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow. This is patent from the letter of Lord Linlithgow dated 18th March, 1940. It is unfortunate that the Indian Muslim does not still understand the American perfidy in helping Israel openly against the entire Muslim world. But still the Brutus is an honourable person and parading Pakistani loyalty washes out all the sins of a Muslim and suddenly transforms him into a hero for fanatical Muslim world.

RELIGION ALONE CAN NOT BE A BINDING FACTOR

Now let us anatomise the often repeated slogan of Muslim identity which is generally raised by the leaders of M U F in the valley. G.M. Janson writing under the title "Islamisation not bringing about

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unity in Pakistan" says on two subsequent visits to Pakistan. "When I again had discussions with Gen. Zia, I observed Islamisation, not just being applied but officially imposed and concluded that it would not work." Work out what? As the answer to Pakistan's national problem Gen. Zia himself enunciated that problem very vigorously to me. Beating the palms of his hand on the arms of a tall throne like chair in his office, he said, "Our problem in Pakistan is that we don't know who we are. You Indians know who you are, so do the Chinese, so do the Israelis but we don't know who we are". The columnist adds "Islamisation has not produced and cannot produce a sense of national identity in Pakistan or indeed in other Muslim country. It had failed to produce that identity between East and West Pakistan and failing to do that even within the narrow confines to the remaining sub nationalism of (West) Pakistan". This has blasted the two nation theory. The thrust of separate Bengali identity proved much stronger and Islamic identity failed to generate a spirit of equality and brotherhood in the minds of West Pakistan towards the East Pakistan. It did not succeed in subduing their lust for power, plunder and aggression against the latter. Ultimately the East Pakistani Muslims rose in revolt and threw out West Pakistan's hegemony. The sparks of disintegration are flying from all directions in West Pakistan.

Gulam Murtaza Syed of Sind who was responsible for passing the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan in Sind Assembly as early as 1940 had to spend 26 years of his life in its prisons. He is most repentant and declares that his support for Pakistan was the biggest political blunder of his life. The Mohajir, the Pathan, the Sindhi, the Bihari and the Punjabi each pulls in his own direction, killing each other. The outcome can be seen in divided canibalistic Karachi. G.M. Janson further writes "There is sharpening of split between Sunni and Shia Muslims. As for Ahmedias, they have been declared outcaste from Islamic fold and victimised in every possible manner. The Bihari Muslims who had gone over to Pakistan carried away by the halo of their new born heaven soon found themselves living in refugee camps.

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Lakhs are rotting in transit camps of Bangladesh. The Hindu refugees from Pakistan present a total contrast. They are all well settled in India.

TIME TO THINK FOR MUSLIM FRIENDS

A dispassionate study of the political development in Pakistan must make our Muslim friends sit and think coolly over the religious exploitation of common Muslims by the so-called leaders. The communal leaders are once again leading them to a critical period of history and if they shut their eyes towards the above analysis their plight will be worse than those of Muhajirs and Biharis in Pakistan. Dispassionate view of Indian history shows that all the persecuted races of the world found a state sanctuary in India where they could maintain their religious identity as Parsees, Jews, Christians and Muslims. The Parsi community which does not exceed 80,000 in number has not lost its identity by joining the Indian mainstream and similar is the case of other communities. It is high time that Muslims of Kashmir who have exhibited high sense of nationalism and patriotism since the time of Zain-ul-Abidin, join the Indian mainstream and then fight the battle politically on broad economic, social and political issues. The communalists and fundamentalists in J & K can be the allies of the ruling party, be it National Conference or Congress or some other pro-India party. They can provide a safety valve for the ruling group and till they do not shun their communal character, they are destined to doom and sink the boat of democracy in the state with them. The sooner the M.U.F and all other opposition groups realise this, the better for the people.

ESTABLISH KINGDOM OF GOD

The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi declared on the eve of Assam defeat of Congress that "Congress lost and India won". People must understand that Kashmir is a sensitive border State, Pakistan fought three wars and got disintegrated in 1971 and it could not occupy an

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inch of Indian territory while India returned the captured posts as a token of its goodwill towards Pakistan. In this background the parties who pose and aspire to be an alternative to the ruling National Conference or Congress will have to shed their separatist, anti-Indian character and join the main national stream and then fight the elections on positive politico-economic issues and, if returned, rule the State. This will be the greatest service they can render to Muslim majority of the state. Let the genuine religious leaders preach Islam of peace and brotherhood and inculcate the high moral values preached by the Prophet. Instead of establishing their separate political kingdom, let them devote their energies in establishing the kingdom of God in every Muslim heart which is their real role as religious teachers. Thus will they herald a new era of peace, plenty and prosperity and start the climb of mankind towards their original abode, the heaven, from which they were driven out due to the initial mistake of Adam.

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3.2 NATIONAL CONFERENCE - THE POLITICAL BUFFER IN KASHMIR

October 1947 was the turning point in the political history of India viz-a-viz J & K State. The British Parliament transferred sovereignty to the Indian States, and the rulers - the Maharajas, the Nawabs, etc, were legally competent to accede to India or Pakistan or to remain independent. The guidelines prepared by Lord Mountbatten directed the rulers of Indian States to take into consideration the composition of population and geographical contiguity of their States while taking a decision. Thus constitutionally the Maharaja was the sole arbiter of his State in the matter of accession or independence. The British game of dividing the people of State into two hostile camps, Muslims and Hindus, had only a few takers here. Whereas in the rest of India they encouraged and pampered the Muslim League to fight the Indian National Congress and patronised the National Conference which was carrying on a relentless fight against autocracy in the State represented by Hindu Maharaja. Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah was elected as the President of All India State Peoples Conference much before 1947 and Pt.Nehru courted arrest at Kohala in J & K for his active cooperation with Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah who had launched the 'Quit Kashmir' movement in the State. Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah emerged as a strong nationalist Muslim leader next only to Abdul Gaffar Khan of Peshawar and Maulana Azad. The predominantly Muslim organisation of National Conference received complete support from Congress in its struggle for democratic Government and end of Dogra rule by a Hindu Maharaja. This insulated the National Conference party from the communal appeal of Muslim League and the theory of two nations preached by Mohd Ali Jinnah. Though the people's movement in J & K started as a movement of Muslim Conference, through association and active support of Indian National Congress, got transformed into a secular, democratic National Conference struggling against the Maharaja's autocratic and arbitrary rule.

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INDECISIVE MAHARAJA

The course of Muslim movement took a reverse direction throughout India as a result of British intervention and imperialist conspiracy. All the Muslim leaders from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Mohd Ali Jinnah, Ali Brothers etc. started their political journey as true nationalist and secular stalwarts but winded their way through communal lanes and finally assumed the role of lackeys of British imperialism and banner bearers of Two Nation Theory. Jinnah's political theory that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and could not live in amity and peace was the reason that led Mr.Jinnah not to wait for the proposed meeting with Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah on 25th October, 1947, which was to take place in Karachi. He launched a massive attack on Kashmir on 22.10.1947 under the secret advice of British C-in-C and British agents. The Maharaja was undecided till then and he had entered into a standstill agreement with India and Pakistan. The National Conference leadership and its rank and file rose as one man and fought the raiders who carried the Quran in one hand and a green flag in another. This invasion caused grave emergency in the State which forced Maharaja Hari Singh to request for military assistance through acceptance of instrument of accession.

NEHRU'S BLUNDER

Even before this raid Britishers directed Lord Mountbatten to personally persuade Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. In 'Mountbatten and Independent India' by Larry Collins and Lapiere the following extract will illustrate this matter "Lord Mountbatten appealed to Maharaja to accede to Pakistan and assured him all the help. When Maharaja refused to yeild, Lord Mountbatten said, "Well, It is up to you, your people are Muslims"! "Yes" said the Maharaja, "but do not forget that with Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah who is madly pro-Nehru, most of my people would really wish to join India". Till the State Constitution was drafted by the Constituent Assembly of J & K, Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah and his National Conference carried relentless attack

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on Pakistan and its policies inside and outside United Nations. Nehru's insistence on plebescite in the State and his assurance to the UNO that the decision of the State Constituent Assembly will not be binding upon India, created political difficulties for Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah which diluted his political tirade against Pakistan.

It was in this background that Pt.Nehru turned down the plea of Mohd.Shafi Qureshi for opening a branch of Congress in J & K. Pt.Nehru asserted that Indian National Congress had all along treated National Conference as its wing in Jammu and Kashmir and there was no necessity of opening a branch of Congress in the State. Pt.Nehru addressed a letter to Bakshi Gh.Mohd, making this position very clear. This letter which was read in open meeting by Bakshi Gh.Mohd during those hectic days clearly stated that for all practical purposes National Conference was a branch of Congress in Jammu & Kashmir. This shelved the matter of converting National Conference into Congress or opening a branch office of Congress in the State.

STRATEGY FOR INTEGRATION

Before the second world war, great powers used to create buffer States for security of their own frontiers. Britain and France had left Thailand independent between Burma and Indo-China with this very idea. Britain had kept Afghanistan between India and Russia and Tibet between India and China as buffer States for defence of north–western and northern frontiers of India. It was unfortunae that India allowed China to grab Tibet in 1959 without even a protest and we had to pay for it in 1962 war which resulted in the loss of 38,000 sq.miles of Indian territory and constant threat to our security from Chinese side. Politically, National Conference is the buffer between secular parties wedded to accession with India and Muslim communal fundamentalists of Kashmir. By weakening this buffer, there will be direct confrontation between Congress and the communalists which will strengthen the pro-Pakistan fanatic elements which receive considerable support in men and money from across the border. Any political

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strategy for integration of Kashmir with the rest of India must not overlook this vital political defence bulwark - the National Conference.

The creation of Congress has strengthened these pro-Pak elements in the State, who have infiltrated into Congress even and made it a safe subterfuge. Communal rioting by paid Congress workers in February 1986 in Anantnag District under Mufti Mohd Syed is a solid proof of this infiltration.

DR FAROOQ SHOULD STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

Farooq should not forget to set his party in order. The prosperity of Kashmir is the outcome of National Conference struggle in the past and its right decision in October,1947. Compared to other States Kashmir is much ahead in economic development. No Kashmiri is without food, clothing and shelter. But the party presents a gloomy picture of faction-torn organisation cut off from the people. The old secular stalwarts are allowed to rust and people with anti–National Conference antecedents are at the helm. Anantnag District which was the brain box of National Conference and which produced Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg has been neglected. Old stalwarts like Mirza Yaqoob Beg, Gh.Rasool Kochak and others are left in the lurch. Among the new dedicated youths men like Dr.Isaq Mir who risked his life and property in upholding secular traditions during the dark days of February, 1986, has been pushed to the wall. He could be conveniently elected as President of Rural Anantnag Block so that the alienated peasants are yoked to this organisation and the party is extricated from the marshy cesspool of inactivity. Weak National Conference in this district which voted three M.U.F assmebly members, will spell doom for Dr.Farooq in person, Kashmir in particular and India in general. It is an irony of fate that those people who hit Sheikh Abdullah below the belt and opposed him tooth and nail have become the main advisors of Dr.Farooq with the result that Dr.Farooq Government has earned the notoriety of being the most inept and ineffective and inefficient Government. Left to Farooq Abdullah he would prove an able Chief Minister but surrounded by these men he has picked up, he is making

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a laughing stock of himself in the public eye. The sooner he shuns this company, the better for the country. Let him shine in his own personality.

Farooq will perform a hattrick and turn a new leaf in Kashmir political history if he invites all the old workers of National Conference who for one reason or the other have stayed away. Some time back Mr.Gh. Nabi Kochak, an astute politician, who parted ways with G.M. Shah on the question of secular ideology expressed his wish to see the broken limbs of National Conference joined together so that National Conference could be revived to its pristine glory and grandeur. This suggestion merits Farooq's consideration at its earliest. Political leaders do not stand on prestige. If an attempt is made to collect all the active workers of National Conference from all the parts of the country, Dr.Farooq can overpower the communal monster extending its arms in Jammu and Kashmir.

LET CHINAR PROVIDE SHADE

Unless the National Conference leadership involves the people in political locomotion, there can be no halt to the frenzied fundamentalist's onward march in the valley of Kashmir. It is no wisdom to distance political workers who could otherwise be an asset. By destroying the National Conference, Dr.Farooq is landing himself into the dragon's mouth. Farooq must come out of the shell of his present day (bad) advisors and make an appeal to all the National Conference workers who have left the party or who are hybernating, to rally round the National Conference banner and thus forge a strong united National Conference. This one exercise will shake the foundation of fundamentalists and annihilate them. Drowsy National Conference is a boon to the enemies of the country and a golden opportunity for anti-national forces to strike the nation. Congress leaders must also realise that in the absence of National Conference, they would be in peril. The Congress can grow in Kashmir when the National Conference Chinar provides shade to it. Thus it is in the interest of the Congress party as well that this political buffer must be buttressed.

Organiser 12.6.1988.

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3.3 STORY OF CONGRESS BETRAYAL AND KASHMIR MUDDLE

The History of freedom struggle is replete with instances of meek surrender by seasoned secularists, diabolical doubts about the departure of Britisher and the fatigue and hurry of Congress top brass which combined together and resulted in the vivisection of the Motherland. The Congress offered the architect of Pakistan to the Britishers when it took up the cause of Khilafat and groomed the Ali Brothers as the leaders of Muslims. Mr.Jinnah who had joined the Congress and was inspired by the philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, felt frustrated as he was by-passed by Gandhi who went whole hog in grooming Mullahs and Morons of Muslim community. Mr.Jinnah saw no chance for his growth in the Congress and he took a vow to come to equal status with Gandhi in the near future. The Khilafat movement denuded the Congress of its secular revolutionary role and was responsible for fuelling fundamentalist fires in the country. The British Viceroy, Lord Reading wrote on 1st January 1925 'The bridge Gandhiji had built to span the gulf between Hindus and Muslims has not only broken down, but, I think, it has completely disappeared'.

During 1937 election, efforts were made for a pact between Congress and Muslim League. Had these efforts succeeded the Muslim League would have become a part of the Congress. Maulana Azad, Kripalani and a host of other Congress leaders worked for this pact. When the talks were about to succeed, Nehru ruined the prospects by his speech before the Muslims of Allahabad on 17.9.1937. Mahatma Gandhi again started to bring Jinnah closer. He wrote a personal letter to Jinnah from jail and proposed Jinnah as the leader of undivided India. This letter was suppressed by the Viceroy and the message did not go to Jinnah. When Nehru came to know of this offer, he strongly opposed it. Nehru did not allow the unity talks to succeed during discussions of Cabinet Mission Plan under Wavell. Maulana Azad and Patel were infuriated by this act of sabotaging the unity talks by Nehru. Patel described Nehru's performance as

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'emotional insanity'. Wavell was a failure and he was replaced by Lord Mountbatten. Maulana Azad writes: "Within a month of Lord Mountbatten's arrival in India, Jawaharlal, the firm opponent of partition has become, if not supporter, at least, acquiescent towards the idea". I have often wondered how Jawaharlal was won over by Lord Mountbatten . . . . Jawaharlal was greatly influenced by Lord Mountbatten but perhaps even greater was the influence of Lady Mountbatten. She is not only extremely intelligent but has a most attractive friendly temperament". Letters between Lady Moutbatten and Nehru released later, revealed that they had romantic attachment. There were salacious aspects of that romance which were the themes of some reports in Daily Express, London. Lord Mountbatten was aware of his wife's romance with Nehru but he did not mind. She was involved in several romances earlier and Lord Mountbatten did not resent them as they served the purpose of his country.

GAFFAR KHAN - BETRAYED BY OUR LEADERS

Gaffar Khan, the greatest man of modern India was also betrayed by the power crazy, luxury–loving Congress leaders in 1947 when they succumbed to the demand for partition without caring even for the physical safety of millions of his followers. Gaffer Khan told Sri Pyarelal, Gandhiji's secretary that "He and his devoted followers were thrown to wolves'. Though he was showered with Nehru Peace Award in 1967 and Bharat Ratna in 1987, the cowardly Government of Congress did not raise its little finger to help the Frontier Gandhi or his beleaguered colleagues in the darkest hour of their struggle. D.G.Tendulkar in his book. "Abdul Gaffar Khan" writes that in a letter to Pyarelal, Khan wrote from Kabul "Nothing worse can befall us than what we have already suffered and continue to suffer. What saddens me is that while we shirked no sacrifice for the sake of India's independence, the Congress, on attaining it, did forsake us. They gave themselves up to enjoyment while we were left to suffer alone. We are still dubbed Hindus ...... This was unbecoming of Congress........We are oppressed. To help the oppressed, is the essence of religion in

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its true sense". In his interview to Tendulkar, Khan said, at the time of partition, Gandhi had told him that independent India would not fail to come to their help if they were oppressed. The promise had not been kept. Gandhiji would never have let this happen if he had lived". Tendulkar interviewd him after his release from Pakistani Jail and says "He repeated several times during my stay with him that they could have had their Pakhtunistan and anything for the Pakhtoons if they had only accepted the partition plan. Before partition, the British Government and Liaquat Ali, Ghulam Mohd. and Iskander Mirza had in turn made tempting offers to them, if he had only compromised with his cherished convictions in respect of nationalism and repudiated his association with the Congress and the national struggle and joined hands with Muslim League. He had refused".

BLUNDER OF PT. NEHRU

Another betrayal by the Congress was the ceasefire in Kashmir. Rajender Puri writes about this in his book, "Rediscovery of India". According to him, Nehru was in a position to overrun Kashmir and clear the State of Pakistani aggression. But he was guided by British interests and on Mountbatten's advice he halted the march of Indian army. The British wanted to keep Kashmir divided as a permanent bone of contention between India and Pakistan. The order of ceasefire in Kashmir in 1948 was the first major disagreement between General Cariappa and Nehru. Cariappa recalls, "If we had been given three weeks there would have been no Kashmir problem now. But Nehru was adamant. He did not even tell the British Commander-in-Chief General Roy Bucker but told me directly to stop firing".

Again the Central Congress leaders made a hasty decision to dismiss Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah in 1953, who was instrumental in forging the accession of Muslim majority State of J & K with India. Nehru installed Bakshi Gh.Mohd. who fought heroic political battle with Sheikh Abdullah. The State of J & K can never forget eleven years of benevolent Government of Bakshi who made J & K a model

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State and transformed its entire complexion. For petty personal affairs which touched the ego of Pt. Nehru, Bakshi was axed under Kamaraj plan. Had Bakshi heeded the advice of Morarji Desai he would have continued to rule Kashmir. His successor Shamsuddin was not tolerated for more than three months. Then came Sadiq who was a man of conviction and clear vision. Conspiracy was hatched against him as well but he could not be ousted. He was only humbled when people had almost forgotten Sheikh Abdullah.

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NO CONSISTENCY IN POLICY

Pt.Nehru had second thoughts. He pleaded with Bakshi for the release of Sheikh. The Conspiracy case was withdrawn and Indira Gandhi entered into an accord with Sheikh in 1975. Sheikh Abdullah had a hunch that he would be betrayed, but he trusted Indian leaders but the ever-ambitious local Congress leaders of little worth withdrew the support which culminated in 1977 elections. Sheikh Abdullah made a clean sweep of all the seats in Kashmir with the exception of three seats. After his death Indirajee coronated Farooq Abdullah who was again ditched by the Centre and his brother-in-law G.M.Shah installed as Chief Minister. Again the same game was started and Congress withdrew support from G.M.Shah who revolted against his brother-in-law on the assurance of the Centre. Farooq again came to power and Rajiv-Farooq Accord was signed. This accord has once again started giving way. The atmosphere is again surcharged. The people of this State have lost all hope in assurances and agreements at the lowest ebb. These betrayals have become epileptic episodes which have multiplied with passage of time. The net result of these betrayals has been the growth of militant cult with explosion of bombs and rattle of Kelishkinov guns. Terrorism which was foreign to Kashmir nature stalks the State, thanks to India's no policy on Kashmir.

Kashmir Times - 1.7.1988 and 8.8.1988

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3.4 SOFT - STATE CALLED INDIA

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The murder and mayhem uleashed by the lunatic fringe on 13th Janurary made me to undertake this analysis of minority communalism which is posing greatest challenge to the country.It is a tragedy too deep for tears that the foreign enemies of our country have been successful in creating a class amongst our minorities, shedding the blood of innocents. It is still more unfortunate that people who worship the same God and Gods, perform their birth and death ceremonies in similar manner and who share common memories of defeat and success and come from the same ancestors and families should take up foreign arms to kill their own brothers.

The Administration working at cross purposes developed cold feet on January 13, till the arsonists destroyed more than one hundred vehicles and set fire to numerous shops and buildings including three places of worship. One is shocked to witness the Police with arms observing civil disobedience as passive spectators of the arson, loot and murder. This branch of administration has abdicated its preventive duties enjoined under Code of Criminal Procedure and the Police rules. The cardinal principle of criminology is to prevent crime rather than to punish it.

The Congress and Communist leaders had to revise their opinion about minority communalism. As early as 1948, Pt.Nehru said that it was the majority communalism which posed greater danger to India. This was the view of E M.S. Namboodripad as well. After the rise of Muslim, Sikh and Christian communalism in the entire country, it is now acknowledged that minority communalism is the greatest threat to the independance and integrity of our country. E.M.S. Namboodripad fought the last election in Kerala on the slogan of fighting the minority communalism. He openly advocated that minority communalism was more dangerous and he confessed that he had to revise his theory on this point.

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Who is behind this minority Communalism? The conduct of the vast Hindu majority was a postitive proof that minorities in India have not to fear from the majority, which, in spite of partition, returned the Congress to power, almost liquidating the Hindu Mahasabha of Savarkar. Dr.Radhakrishnan in his book " Recovery of Faith" writes: "Though faith in the Supreme is the basic principle of Indian tradition, the Indian State will not identify itself with or be controlled by any particular religion. Secularism as defined here.is in accordance with the ancient religious traditions of India".

In his book, "Message of Upanishads" Swami Ranganathananda writes: "Vast majority of those who met in the Constituent Assembly in Delhi and voted Indian Constitution in 1949 were religious and not irreligious. And yet they adopted the principles and policies of secular constitution for their deeply religious country."

Dr.Radhakrishnan quotes the following passage from Murray's Discoveries and Travels in Asia in which the author quotes the remarks of a Muslim ambassador from Persia to the Court of the Hindu ruler of Calicut in Kerala "The people of Calicut are infidels, consequently, I (Abdul Razak Berni, Ambassador from Court of Persia in about the middle of fifteenth century) consider myself in an enemy country, yet I admit that I meet with perfect toleration and even favour. We have two mosques and people are allowed to pray in public".

It may be racalled that Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of our land are the descendants of the same forefathers and it is no problem for them to live in peace and amity. The Britishers in order to rule this country, created bad blood and plundered India for about 150 years. John Seoley in his book "Expansion of Empire" writes that "About one thousand people coming from a distance of six thousand miles ruled this country for 150 years. How did they do it?".

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Bhagwan Das in his book "Hindu Ethics" on page 38 writes, " Lord George Hamilton was Secretary of State for India in his speech 5th October, 1904 said: In one town in India I would have met more varieties of race and religion than could be seen in the whole of Europe. That diversity of race and creed was the origin of our Empire and the secret of its strength". Sir John Strachey, a great Anglo–Indian Administrator said in his book "India" that "the existence side by side of these hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India".

MUSLIM - FAVOURITE WIFE

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay wrote on 14th May, 1859 "divide -et impera was the old Roman motto and it shall be ours". Lieutenant Colonel John Coke writes, our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the separation which exists between different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate. The divide-et impera should be the principle of Indian Government. Then there is a notorious speech of Sir Mabfylde Fuller, then Lt.Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, in which occurs the historical phrase about Muslims, being his "favourite wife". Finally, there is the memorable speech of Lord Curzon in the House of Lords on the annulment of his Bengal partition, that one of his reasons for partition was that he wished to favour the Muslims.

IMPERIALIST GAME

The author of Pakistan was one Chowdary Rehmat Ali, a British agent. The support to Muslim League came direct from British Government which used Muslim card to delay independence and finally they succeeded in carving out an area of operation in the name of Pakistan. The seeds of Hindu–Sikh disunity were sown in 1849 itself by the Britishers when Punjab had come under British rule in 1858 when Hondson had stormed Delhi and beheaded Bahadur Shah Zaffar's sons, he placed their heads at the same spot where Guru Teg Bahadur's

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head was kept after execution to show that he has taken revenge for Guru's martyrdom. The supply of arms to Sikh terrorists and their training in Pakistan is a logical consequence of imperialist game in India. The role of Anglo American block in the U.N.O. debates over Kashmir is also a point in this direction. China's attack in 1962 and the subsequent conspiracies are all promoted by desire not to allow India to become a big power and leader of Asia.

A decade back, the Asia Society of America held a symposium on India attended by a score of top American authorities whose papers were published in a book form titled "India a middle power" which established the U.S. policy of containment that is preventing India to become a big power.

CRITERIA - LOYALTY TO THE NATION

How to face it? Till the minorities confine their demands to maintaining their religious or cultural identity and till they do not harbour evil designs against the stability of the State and till they remain loyal and patriotic to the nation, there is no worry. All these demands must be conceded and our constitution has provided adequate guarantee for these minority rights. But the trouble is that under the cloak of minoritism, treasonable activities are conducted which impair the basis of our polity and erode its secular character. Acting as agents of foreign powers encircling India, some of their members indulge in anti-national acts of sabotage and subversion. It is this section of minorty community which cannot be dealt with kid gloves of Government. India has compounded this felony whenever any minority group has taken to arms and to streets.

Congress patronised Muslim League which was responsible for the partition of the country and the free flow of human blood. It encouraged late Bhindrenwala and his gang and after the 'Operation Blue Star', crowned the Akali leader Barnala who went to the same slush after dismissal. The same is true of Mizo rebels, Gorkha

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insurgents and Christian fathers in Bihar and M.P. It must be known to all and sundry that working against the unity and integrity of the country would be declaring war against India and every measure would be legal and justified to deal with such anti-national acts. The Government must suspend the Constitution there and deal firmly with those people and areas which pose threat to the nation. There can be no compromise on these matters. Accords with such elements results in division of the country as is evident from Congress history of pacts. We have to adopt Patel's approach, if this dear land of ours, with its religious pluralism and cultural diversity is to preserve its secular imperative even though surrounded by non-secular regimes. This national creed of secularism must not be sullied by crypto-communal operators.

TAKE HARD DECISIONS

The fundamentalists and our batch of ultra-democrats have denounced the Supreme Court and attributed motives to it. Let it be clear to all these elements what justice Krishna Iyer remarked in a similar context in Shah Banu controversy. "The Supreme Court of India, the least communal and more secular among available constitutional institutions in the country is currently under attack from a fundamentalist epidemic which I have grave msigivings may doubly backlash ....We have defaulted in dealing with such uprising and the result is the present crisis".

In the words of former Foreign Secretary A.P. Venkateswaran " We have a tendency to let matters slide until there is crisis and then we start reacting to it. The correct approach should be that we should be able to act and not just react when the situations are developing and not afterwards". China and Russia also had their minority problems but they have solved them and they are safe from such assaults. Communist China has 55 ethnic groups as minorities. In 1949 a group of Muslims representatives from different areas went to see Mao Tse Tung. They came to tell Mao that "The country is free from foreign domination now. So this is the time to arrange for a separate homeland for us." Mao flew into rage and threw them all out of his

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office. He told them that "This is no India and there would be no homeland for you". But the Indian Government does not possess this, a steel will, to protect its national interests. In the words of Gunnar Myrdell "India is a soft State which yields to pressure and which is incapable of taking hard decisions".

As reported in "Hindu Vishva" (April 1987) when Hitler attacked Russia in June 1941, Stalin noticed that Russian defence in the southern sector was cracking up before the German onslaught. On enquiry, he found out that the Muslim contingents of the Russian army in that sector were surrendering to the Germans en masse without any fight. Stalin promptly replaced them by white Russian soldiers and on the conclusion of war transferred the entire Muslim population from the sensitive border areas to deep under Russian territory.

PRESENT PROBLEM - OUR OWN MAKING

India need not go in for such extreme steps. The minority problem is our own creation. The expectation of vote had made us forget the national interest. We are ourselves guilty of pampering the separatist streaks in politics. When Jyoti Basu screwed the Gorkha agitators, Home Ministry started negotiations with Subhash Ghising. We entered into an alliance with Muslim League in Kerala to overthrow communist Ministry there. We supported Akali Dal to rule Punjab. Whatever helps us in vote catching, we besmear our body and assume that colour. We have settled infiltrators from Bangla Desh in Assam and Bengal only because they voted en block for us. All our elections touch the lowest ebb of morality and nationalism. Thus the responsibility of encouraging fissiparous tendencies is squarely India's own and foreign powers are fortunate in having a fertile field to sow seeds of disruption which have now assumed very sturdy forms, tending to undermine the whole nation.

Coming back to death and destruction of 13th January in Jammu, it can be safely said, failure of Government was the main cause for

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large-scale wreck and ruin. In view of brewing bad blood and intelligence reports about the preparations by Khalistanis, there was no sense in permitting a procession. The Sikh leaders of Congress and National Conference in order to please their voters, pleaded for such permission. The Chief Minister should have declined to permit and then the procession should have been stopped from entering the main old city no sooner the banners and slogans in favour of Kehar Singh and Satwant Singh were raised. Farooq has admitted total administrative failure. This appalling alibi for loss of eleven lives, and crores of rupees worth property and the generated ill-will and enmity is shameful.

The principles which should guide matters are best described by Confucious, "Let a man die, so that community lives; let community die, so that a nation lives; let a nation die, so that world may live".

Excelsior - 15.11.88

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3.5 B.J.P. AND REGIONAL AUTONOMY

The solitary opposition party with a history and purpose is again caught up in the dilemma of autonomy idea. In its historic contents the B.J.P in J & K is the Old Praja Parishad and in its exoteric posture, it is a secular democratic organization confined in its core to Jammu Division. The Kashmir wing of this party is only a symbolic structure in second bridge area of Srinagar city. There was a time when the immediate predecessor Pt.Premnath Dogra of this party, the erstwhile Jan Sangh, was robust throughout the state having at one time near about seven M.L.As in the legislature. It was mostly due to the fatherly figure of Pt.Premnath Dogra that this party developed into a mature political combat force of integrationists having its strong branches throughout the State. This Jan Sangh crossed the Banihal and in every district of Kahsmir had spread its branches. It fought Assembly and Parliamentary elections even from hostile terrain of Kashmir. The nomination form of Jan Sangh candidate from Anantnag constitution had to be rejected, when Shri Devkinandan stood against Shri Shamsuddin ex-Prime Minister of J & K in 1972. The party had become a citadel of political force in Jammu under the towering leadership of Panditji. It functioned as a homogenous team, inspired by the austere living and spirit of sacrifice of its leaders - the pride of Dogras. Its political arch–enemies including Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. had tremendous respect for Panditji who was a secularist through and through with deep nationalism in his lifeblood. His passing away dealt a damaging blow to this party with groupism coming to surface and destroying its credibility.

The People of Jammu by and large felt indebted to this party for it brought them closer to the rest of the country and smashed the backbone of separatists. As a matter of fact, Pt. Premnath Dogra laid the foundation stone of organized mass political movement in Jammu. Even in the most rigged elections before 1977 Jan Sangh would still manage to get some seats.

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ROLE OF PANDIT PREMNATHJI DOGRA

When Sardar Bachan Singh Panchi proposed for involving Jan Sangh in Jammu autonomy agitation, it was the patriot and nationalist Panditji, who discussed the proposal for three days in the general council and rejected the same. Integration and abolition of Art.370 cannot shake hands with demand for Jammu autonomy. Panditji was clear that this slogan mouthed by pseudo-secularists and crypto-communists was in reality an imperialist device to divide the State and separate Kashmir. The same strategy is being adopted in Afghanistan where U.S. catches hold of top intellectuals of a country and they prefer to enroll leftists for their game.

Shree Balraj Puri and Co., have all along toyed with this idea but during the lifetime of Panditji they could not cut any ice. Now that B.J.P. has lost that charisma and the conviction that they can not form Government in the State at any time till the composition of J & K remains as it is, it allures most of its party workers to raise this catchy slogan of Jammu autonomy and some of their erstwhile leaders have walked over to Puri's parlours by joining their committee to devise action plan for this effect. It is sheer opportunism of these leaders who aspire to climb to power by separating Jammu from Kashmir. The M.U.F. and other fundamentalist outfits in Kashmir are happy over this move and they wait for the day when they will cut out Indian influence and proclaim their independence.

The B.J.P. in its recent meeting has formally censured Shree Rishi Kumar Kaushal and others, who have joined the autonomy forum wallas. The brooding spirit of Pt.Premnath Dogra is still guiding them as they deliberate in those very premises - the Anand Bhavan of B.J.P. It is political honesty and intensive activity that can sustain a political party and not the emotional appeal or catchy slogans. Hunger for power and lust for official patronage cannot lead the party towards its direction and destination.

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The success of a party depends upon the dedicated work in solving the social and economic problem of the electorate. Late Giridharilal Dograji's example is a shining instance of a living political worker. The activity of B.J.P. should not be confined to Pt.Premnathji's 'Kothi' but the same must fan out in rural areas and go from house to house preaching the message of unity and integrity of the country and educating the people in right direction. They must be geared by lion's courage and nerves to fight for the weaker sections of the people. Then and then alone can they regain their position. The factionalism in the party has been its main draw-back. This party, which has to remain in opposition always as a watch–dog of people's rights, cannot afford the luxury of groupism. It is high time that its leaders make an honest effort to join the broken limbs and if even after that some leaders do not fit in, it becomes obligatory to remove the dross and purge the party. Amputation often saves life. This surgery will restore vitality to the party so that it can steer clear of the imperialistic conspiracies.

Yesterday, while passing through Ustad Mohalla - a friend of mine narrated to me the 1947 story. This mohalla is mostly populated by our Muslim brothers. Late Col. Peer Mohd. Khan was also a resident of this mohalla. He was very close to Panditji. I was told that when Jammu was on fire a pitched battle was being fought in the downtown, the Muslims of this mohalla were not touched. Under the leadership of Peer Mohd.Khan a peace committee was formed and Panditji personally kept a vigil over this area. Later on, Col. Peer Mohd. Khan was an active leader in Jan Sangh and worked in close cooperation with Panditji. It was the secular democratic and nationalist conduct of Panditji that won him friends.

The B.J.P. is proud to have Panditji as its leader and if they follow in his footprints they can work on positive lines without artificial crutches of emotional slogans which will ruffle the placid

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waters of Jammu. It goes to the credit of B.J.P. leadership that despite provocation by few fundamentalists in Kashmir, by teasing the minority and by attacking their temples no untoward incident of such a nature has taken place in Jammu. The result has been that Kashmiri Muslims find it safe to construct their winter homes in Jammu and live with honour and dignity here. Communal amity in Jammu is traceable to the secular leadership of Panditji who was clear on this score.

The B.J.P. can fill the void if it closes its ranks and unites all its old–time workers. This demands sacrifice by the present leadership which should not stand on prestige. Let them even step down and make room for others so that they carry on the caravan. The twin ideals of service and sacrifice must always guide their actions. The Congress stole the show of opposition in 1977 and 1983 Assembly elections as it emerged the main opposition in this province. B.J.P. was pushed back by Indira Gandhi in 1977 and by Rajiv Gandhi in 1983. With the Congress in alliance with National Conference the decks are now clear and the field is open. The void is created by the Congress joining the Government. Whether B.J.P. can successfully fill the gap - time alone can tell.

Jammu Panorama - February 1989.

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3.6 WHITHER COMMUNIST PARTY IN J & K ?

The earliest to start and earliest to sleep is the engraved writing on the tomb of Communist party J&K. Gone are the days when its brilliance dazed the intelligents of the State and dominated the political scene of J & K. To capsule the communist movement one can safely say "To meet, to think and then to part, is a sad tale of communist heart". This is true fo the communist movement of India which stands fragmented into dozens of sections, each hostile to the other like Sino-Soviet armies which faced each other on the borders of the two communist countries only a year ago. It is all the more true about the J&K communist party.

CONTRIBUTION OF COMRADE DANVANTARY

The Raja-Rishi of communist movement, Comrade Danvantary, was the main inspiration to the comrades in Jammu and he wielded his influence over the rank and file of party workers in Kashmir as well. His house was the radiating centre of communist ideology and he commanded spontaneous reverence from all those who came in contact with him. It is said that his personality was the publicity of the ideology and he continued till the end of his life transmitting the heat waves of communism. The National Conference leadership was considerably influenced by Mr. Danvantary and no political decision was taken without his consultation. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, Mirza Mohd.Afzal Beg, G.M.Sadiq and Mohi-ud-Din Kara would invariably pay their respects to this luminary whenever they visited Jammu. With his passing away, the communist party was deprived of leadership and mature guidance. He led a life of self-abnegation and total surrender to the principles of communism which made him adorable to all and sundry. All the progressive and egalitarian measures initiated by National Conference Government from 1947 to 1952 owed their origin to the brain waves of this gentleman, who acted as the guide and mentor of economic policies of National Conference. The big

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Landed Estates Abolition Act and other such laws can be traced to the discussions which communist party leaders had with the top leadership of National Conference. The Magna Carta of National Conference, Naya Kashmir, is said to be authored by a communist leader. It can be said without fear of contradiction that it was the communist party and its workers who dominated the forties and fifties of this century in Jammu.

LURE OF POMP AND STATE POWER

After the demise of Comrade Danvantary the leadership passed to Ram Pyara Saraf and Krishn Dev Sethi. But they could not resist the temptation of partaking of pomp and eventually transformed themselves into errand boys of that great and mighty Bakshi Sahib. He routed all the top communist workers into legislature as the elections during that period were on horse race. All the rival candidates were murdered at the crease of scrutiny of nomination papers. In Kashmir G.M.Sadiq Mohi-ud-Din Kara, N.N.Raina, P.N.Jalali, D.P.Dhar, G.M.Rajpuri, M.L.Misri, Peer Gias Din and others were considered to be the card–holders. Mr.Kara had a scuffle with Mr.Raina, and the Kashmir Book shop at Amira Kadal was ransacked. This led to split and finally all these big shots found their way into the corridors of power directly and indirectly. N.N.Raina had left the State and the residue was utilized by Bakshi Gh.Mohd after 1953. The State power changed the life style of these communists.

When in 1957 Democratic National Conference was formed by this group. Bakshi used most of the communists against the Democratic National Conference and finally Sadiq had to wind up the show and rejoin the National Conference. A berth in State Cabinet made these people forget their pledges and their ideology and they joined the ordinary rut regaining power and 'prestige'.

R.P.Saraf became the banner holder of Naxalism and went underground. Only on 3rd April 1988, did he return to open public

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life. He has floated International Democratic Front in Jammu and in his first public meeting on 3rd April he declared that he would not be averse to statehood for Jammu and Union Territory status for Ladakh. He even pleaded for transfer of population from one region to another.

It seems that Saraf has come to fill the void in Jammu politics which is discernible in the decline of influence of N.C. Congress and B J P in Jammu. The other leading light of communist party was Krishna Dev Sethi. He too could not remain in the communist fold, both Sethi and Saraf are outside the communist fold. K.D.Sethi joined Mufti Sayeed political private parlour and Congress (I) utilized him in breaking the union of Government employees.

COLLAPSE OF THE MOVEMENT

The residue of communist party in Jammu has no clout and they have no hold on the people of this province. People are sore with their politics which is tuned to the foreign masters. Brave Dogra cannot inhale this subservient thought, which destroys his independence and militates against his sense of patriotism. Thus the communist movement which was launched in Jammu in the first quarter of twentieth century lost its vigour and vitality in sixties and is on the brink of collapse this time.

The fate of this movement in the valley was more frightening. The leaders of the movement became ministers and overnight they forgot the revolutionary theory and the mass struggle. Those who could not be accommodated in the Government, were provided with big contracts and other concessions. The second line of communist card–holders consisted of D.P.Dhar, Peer Gyasudin, Noor Mohd. M.L.Misri, P.L.Handu, M.N.Kaul etc.

One cannot lose sight of the fact that there are certain exceptions out of the lot, who have maintained their communist standards and

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who are living a life of penury and servitude. But these people are nowhere counted. When A.B.Kabir Wani of Kulgam came to attend the meeting of Communist Workers (CPM) at Broadway Hotel in Srinagar to be addressed by Harkishan Singh Surjeet, some years back, he was not allowed to enter as he was shabbily dressed. That was a turning point in the life of this revolutionary and today he has given up the communist cult and is repenting his past communist sins.

I am told that some of the leading writers and artists of Kashmir who were once charmed by communist ideology made a 'U' turn when they witnessed the private life of their communist leaders. Today the communist party is pushed to the wall and consists of a small fringe of youth mostly in the neighbourhood of Mohd.Yousuf Targami. There is a clear cleavage within the CPM itself which seemed active in some spheres in the valley. C.P.I. is confined to the residence of its members who have lost political appeal and mobility. The CPI(M) which is still a small force within the valley is in a decaying stage, thanks to the role of its leaders. This in short is the sorry spectacle of the communist party in J&K which was once a very strong movement in the State.

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3.7 THE MINORITY COMMISSION

The appointment by the J&K Government of the Minority Commission must be hailed as a long-awaited measure of relief to Kashmiri Hindus. Dr.Farooq Abdullah deserves full praise for respecting the wishes of Kashmiri Hindus in taking this step at a time when charges of communalism and separatism were being hurled against him by his political adversaries. This welcome gesture of responding to the demand of All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, though much delayed, has provided an opportunity and a forum for the State minorities to focus their grievances in the form of discrimination in admission to educational institutions, appointment to services, promotions to higher grades, encroachments on their places of worship and burial ground, their general harassment by anti-social and anti-national elements and the obstructions to their religious and social freedom.

These complaints have to be serialised, scanned, submitted along with factual data and then pursued and prosecuted till they pass on to the domain of proven facts. The told and untold sufferings at the hand of the power-that-be, right from 1947 till date, are to be catalogued and crystallized into clear cut cases of discrimination and communalism. The establishment of this Commission has brought us to a State when vague allegations, omnibus charges, moanings and groanings will serve no purpose. The ball is now in our court, and it depends upon our persistence and persuasion and our forensic skill in presentation of our case that we can score our points. It generally happens that the drowsy defaults of a party deprive it of legitimate rights and advantages that law guarantees to it. It is, therefore, time for all the well-wishers of Hindus to come out of their shells and contribute their mite in building the case of our community which is going to be heard by no less a personality than the former Chief Election Commissioner of India who had the status at par with the Supreme Court of India within its own jurisdiction.

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MUSLIMS FIRST - IDEOLOGY AFTERWARDS

The Courts do not countenance 'causes' inter–se the plaintiffs in litigation. In case the plaintiffs in a suit do not present a joint cause of action or refer to a provision of law for the relief they jointly, as one, seek or start quarrelling as between themselves, the only course open to the Court is to throw out their case in limini. The Hindus have been enjoined to receive all good things from all sides. The Vedic saying that 'Let noble thoughts come to us from all sides', obligates us to learn from our counterparts in India, that is, Indian Muslims and Christians. Last year, while returning from Srinagar to Anantnag, I had a glance of 'Nai Duniya', Urdu Weekly from Delhi, which a co-passenger had finished reading and obliged by lending it to me for reading. I was surprised to read the news on the front page, where the editor had hailed the achievement of Indian Muslims in their struggle to rise as a well knit community in India. It remarked that a Muslim, whether a communist or socialist, a Congressite, or Janata man, Mushawarat or Majlis affiliate, was a Muslim first and any thing else afterwards. The paper recounted that almost on every issue, be it the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University or language policy (Urdu), communal riots or appointments in services, the Muslim members of any political party, of all shades, spoke the same language that is they all focused on the Muslim point of view. The report was shocking in the sense that no Muslim politician had struck a discordant note even when their community was being blamed for "arms dumps in mosques", "communal riots" or for "conversion of Harijans and Girijans". It was pleasing to know that this minority, "responsible for partition of India, presented a picture of consolidated community dictating its terms for securing a lion's share of Assembly and Parliamentary seats etc. Let us unlearn their shortcomings, but let us learn their common political pattern as a minority community, their sense of unity and their approach to problems. Let us emulate their voting pattern of block-voting, their common deliberations on all important issues facing them. Their common thinking was again demonstrated when 38 Muslims MPs presented a memorandum to the Prime Minister last year.

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UNITE WE STAND - DIVIDE WE FALL

It is a tragedy that we Hindus have forgotten the basic lessons of the Vedas which proclaim 'Brethern, talk together, be you united in your minds'. This is our constitutional culture as the Vedas are our basic constitution on which the fabric of Hindu society is based. But alas! our Hindu community placed at cross-roads of history is a divided house. While we were busy in building the Yuvak Sabha after the election and had the good fortune of having well-placed and selfless people as members of our Working Committee under the able guidance of old stalwart of the Sabha, Dr.Peshin, some men who lost in the election to this organisation, could not accept the democratic verdict of the Biradari and have come out into the open, fabricating a party of their own styling ' The All India K P Conference' as if we had consolidated the Biradari here. The Durgang Trust presents the same picture. The moment you discover the fraud, the accused turns round and questions your competence. This is happening everywhere with us, the Hindus. Instead of working for the amelioration of our community we do not hesitate to destroy its basic structure because our ego is touched or we do not get supremacy in the organisation.

The establishment of the Minority Commission, therefore, mandates the Hindus of the State to sink all their differences and rally round the banner of the Yuvak Sabha as the only hope of their much-neglected and much delayed redemption. Let us rise equal to the occasion, cement our relation and walk arm in arm to present our case before this august body. The time for acrimonious debates and discussions has gone, the time of leg-pulling and back-biting is past; now is the time to act as one man and be all obedient and faithful soldiers in this long march so that we present our litancy as unified plaintiffs. We have had enough of leadership competition. We have denigrated even those who would receive regular worship from others. Let us build an atmosphere in which men with dedication, and sincerity come forward to work for our community. Our personal prejudices must be buried or we will ourselves get buried under the debris of our own society. Time and

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tide wait for none. Let all the Sabhas and societies meet to present the charter of our grievances before the Minority Commission so that the whole world understands our problems and the perpetrators stop their anti-Hindu practices through legal behest.

ARISE, AWAKE AND STOP NOT TILL
THE GOAL IS REACHED.

Martand 24.2.1984

NOTE:- *The promise of constituting a minority commission was neither fulfilled by Dr.Farooq Abdullah nor by the subsequent Governments. Meanwhile the entire minority of Kashmir was forced to leave the Valley in 1990 and are living as refugees in their own country.*

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3.8 A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Forty years ago on the eve of partition of India, when the entire sub-continent was engulfed by communal riots, Hindus fled from the territory now called Pakistan and a section of Muslims were forced to find shelter in the land supposed to protect them. It was in those circumstances that Hindus from Punjab, Sind and other areas reached the Indian side of the border. These unfortunate people never expected that the Congress leaders would accept the partition of the country as the price for handing down the State power to them. The words of Mahatma Gandhi against any partition of the country were ringing in their ears.

It was again the bad luck of these refugees that Nehru did not agree to the idea of exchange of population which was proposed by Dr. Ambedkar and accepted by Mr Jinnah. This is clear from the book, 'Thoughts on Pakistan' by Dr.Ambedkar. Be that as it may, we have 2.5 lakhs refugees in Jammu alone who have come in 1947 from Pakistan, in 1965 at the peak of Indo-Pakistan war and those who entered the State during 1971 war. Initially between 1947-53 refugees were used as second line of defence against Pakistan army and were given plots of land on the border to eke out their living. Some of them were provided with arms to check Pakistani infiltration. These forsaken unfortunate people have not seen the glow of independence that was supposed to provide the State of J&K, these partition patriots are living in the same mud huts which they reconstruct after each war having one meal a day with no right and no future.

These people who once enjoyed all the amenities of life are today the hewers of wood and drawers of water. These land-less, property-less and future-less people earn their one meal by working as labourers of landlords and businessmen. The tragic events of partition, when their near and dear ones were hacked to pieces, their sisters and brothers butchered and their mothers and children burnt alive, unfold

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themselves whenever the pathetic conditions of their present life press upon them. They have never heard soothing words nor received any sobering remedy to their problems. These forgotten flowers of Mother India have been hated by Pakistan and haunted by India.

Under the State constitution and laws these people are not the citizens of the State and as such cannot be owners of immovable property, cannot get employment in Government and cannot exercise franchise for the State Assembly. Many of these refugees have broken limbs, wounded bodies due to explosion of land mines and shelling by Pakistan Army. In spite of petitions and prayers they have received no compensation for their property in Pakistan. They are driven from piller to post and their claims have remained unsettled till date.

FORMATION OF CORPORATION

In a recent interview, Chief Minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah said that Government of J&K has formed a corporation with the clearance of Central Government which will look into the problems of these refugees. These people were promised Rs.12,000/ decades earlier as their settlement assistance which was to be paid in 1950, but till now nothing has been paid to them. These Rs.12,000/- are not worth Rs.1,200/- now as the value of money has fallen heavily since these years. The Chief Minister said that corporation will raise more money and give it as loan to these refugees and by this money these refugees can become self employed and independent.

In February, 1987 the State Government decided to create a corporation with Rs.12 crores as initial capital. It has framed some 33 schemes for self employment of these refugees including horti-culture, agriculture, handloom, etc. How far this scheme will mature and give capital to these refugees cannot be vouchsafed. These refugees have been tricked and trounced many a times with false promises and paper plans . Even in 1975, Mrs.Gandhi promised an aid of Rs.50 crore for their rehabilitation but nothing came out of this.

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These refugees are denied right of franchise. The difference in population between Jammu and Kashmir is only 1,69,328. Now if the 2.5 lakh refugees who are without electoral rights are enlisted, the population of Jammu will be more than of Kashmir.

SUPREME COURT VERDICT

In the year 1964-65 these refugees set up Refugee Action Committee. In a recent petition before Supreme Court it was pointed out that these migrants living in J & K for last forty years have been denied the right to acquire and hold property, right to get employment, start any company or firm, purchase any transport truck or bus and right to get higher education for their children and right to vote to any Panchayat, Committee or to the Legislative Assembly. It has been argued that U.S. gives citizenship right after five years and Germany gives these rights only after three years.

The Supreme Court has held their complaints valid. Their Lordships Justice Chinappa Reddy and Justice S. Natarajan in their judgement on 20.2.1987 said that Central Government taking into consideration the special constitutional status of J & K must enact some special provisions to safeguard the cultural, economic and educational rights of these refugees. The court observed that although the court is not in a position to do much in respect of these refugees, yet it hopes that the Central Government and the Kashmir State Government will certainly do something as at least to give citizenship rights to them (refugees). Justice Natarajan on this petition obsered that, while on the one hand these refugees have failed to get any of these rights during these long years, on the other hand thanks to rehabilitation laws all those people who had opted for and gone to Pakistan in 1947 have been given these rights should they choose to return to Kashmir.

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STOP THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

It is high time that a human touch is given to these forlorn and partition wrecked people so that they also live a life of dignity and honour. At a time when our leaders are struggling for human rights for African and Latin American people, these noble sons and daughters of our own motherland should not remain deprived of basic civil rights in the J&K State, only because they have been driven to this position by the follies of our Congress leaders who accepted partition of this great country. We have no right to plead against the policy of apartheid in Africa when we are guilty of the same in our own country. These people would have knocked at the doors of Human Rights Commission but the sense of loyalty to the country and feeling of patriotism have stood in their way. Let the State and Central Governments understand their cases and take immediate measures to remove this blot from their face.

Excelsior 28.6.1987

NOTE:- The fate of these unfortunate people of partition days is still undecided in J&K State and they continue to live as non-State Subjects.

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3.9 PAK EVENTS VINDICATE SHEIKH ABDULLAH

After the death of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah the number of Sheikhites in Kashmir has started thinning and the size of his admirers has shrunk considerably. This process is directly associated with the increase in the number of fundamentalists and the expansion of the ranks of anti-Indian elements in the State.

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah is the main target of the attack of communalists who get inspiration from the centres of fundamentalist organizations inside and outside the country. Accession with India and stiff opposition to Mr.Jinnah's two nation theory are the twin targets of communalists' assault on the Lion of Kashmir. According to this pro-Pak group, but for the Sheikh's soft corner for India and Congress leadership. Kashmir would have fallen like a ripe mango into the mouth of Pakistan. The recent discoveries and political confession of the top brass in Pakistan have proved the wisdom of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah's approach on the question of accession with India and his support to Indian National Congress. His tooth and nail opposition to pernicious two-nation theory and creation of Pakistan is amply justified by the later events in Pakistan which has conclusively verified the correctness of his political line of thinking on those crucial issues.

RELIGION ALONE CAN'T BUILD A NATION

Mr.G.N.Janson in recent articles captioned "Islamisatioin not bringing about unity in Pakistan" says "On two subsequent visits to Pakistan when I again had discussion with Gen. Zia, I observed that Islamization did not work as answer to Pakistan's national problems. Gen.Zia beating the palms of his hands on the arms of a tall throne like chair in his office said "Our problem in Pakistan is that we do not know who we are. You Indians know who you are, so do the Chinese, so do the Israelis - But we don't know who we are".

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This well-known columnist adds: "Islam as such and the process of Islamization in particular have not produced and can not produce a sense of national identity in Pakistan and indeed in any other Muslim country. It has failed to produce that identity between the East and the West Pakistan and it is failing to do that even within the narrower confines of the remaining sub-nation of West Pakistan. Within 25 years of its birth, Pakistan, born by vivisecting Hindustan itself became vivisected". The thrust of separate Bangla identity proved much stronger and on the other hand the Islamic identity failed to generate a spirit of equality and brotherhood in the minds of the West Pakistan towards the East Pakistan. Ghulam Murtaza Syed was one who got passed the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan in Sind Assembly in 1940. After the formation of Pakistan, this man had to spend 26 years of his life in its prisons.

He has declared that his support for Pakistan was the biggest political blunder of his life. The domination of the West Punjabi Muslims going on for last 40 years is proving unbearable for Sind people and they have launched 'Jai Sind' agitation to make Sind an independent State as a part with federation with India. The Bihari Muslims who had gone over to Pakistan are living as refugees. They are an eye sore to Bangla Muslims. A few lakhs are still rotting in Bangladesh transit camps. The Mujahir, Sindhi, Punjabi and Bihari each pull in their own direction. The campaign for Islamization has resulted in Pathan Mujaharean bloodshed in Karachi and other parts of Pakistan. It has resulted in Sunni-Shia conflict while Ahmadiyas are declared non-Muslims.

PREDICTION CAME TRUE

What Sheikh Abdullah had predicted for Jinnah came true. His reported repentance and first speech as the Governor General of Pakistan in which he visualised a secular Pakistan have gone waste. Pakistan has become a colony of imperialists and all its strategic places

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are in the direct control of U.S.A. All this slavery is maintained by putting on a false veil of Islamization. The spirit of Islam is missing and the emphasis is on the form to hoodwink people.

Had Kashmir joined this so-called Islamic State. it would have been overrun by the Punjab Muslims and the identity of Kashmir would have withered away. Sheikh Abdullah knew that the 1940 Pakistan Resolution was drafted by Zafurullah at the instance of Lord Linlithgow. The entire Ahamadiya sect which Zaferullah represented has become Kafir with no rights. The man who was really the founder of Pakistan, Chaudhari Rehmat Ali, visited Pakistan in 1948 and got involved in an embezzlement case. He escaped to England where he died in miserable conditions.

In a recent book by R.J.Moor "Making the new Common-Wealth" it is recorded on the authority of the diary of Sir John Cunningham that Mr.Jinnah was not consulted by Liaquat Ali Khan when tribal people invaded Kashmir in 1947. Sir John Cunningham has written that Mr.Jinnah realized that tribal invasioin over Kashmir was a big blunder. According to Ex.Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mohd.Yousuf Saraf, it was a personal decision of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Central Government of Pakistan had not permitted this invasion.

According to Moor, Kashmir was lost mainly due to this tribal invasion and Mr.Jinnah accepted this truth by saying that this invasion dropped Kashmir into lap of India. Mr.Moor further records that when Lord Mountbatten came to Pakistan on 1st November, 1947, he proposed that Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad problem be solved by holding referendum. But Mr.Jinnah did not accept this proposal.

Mr.Aman Ullah writes that Pakistan leaders committed a blunder by not owning Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah. In a recent conference in Lare some prominent leaders of Azad Kashmir have expressed that the 1965 war against India was the result of a conspiracy against

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President Ayub Khan and Mr Bhutto was instrumental for it. Chowdhry Ghulam Abbas Khan has said that war of 1965 was not launched to free Kashmir. He had declared that the result of this war would be annihilation of Muslims living in border areas.

FATE OF P.O.K. AND MUJAHIRS

Now occupied Kashmir is under the dark cloud of emergency with most of the leaders under detention. It is reported that people of that part of J & K are eager to join this part of Kashmir, so that they also enjoy the economic prosperity and freedom of expression enjoyed by their co-religionists. The broad day-light slaughter of Muhajareans (Indian Muslims) has sent shivers down their spines and the treatment given to that part of Kashmir by Pakistani leaders has reduced them to virtual slaves of Punjabi speaking people who dominate that area.

All those developments have vindicated with honour the stand of Sheikh Mohd.Abdullah who fought the Pakistan invaders in 1947 and carried his relentless fight against the British sponsored Muslim League and its two nation theory.

Due to accession with India, Kashmir has become a properous State. There is hardly a Kashmiri who does not own his shelter, who does not have two square meals a day and who does not possess his own clothing. These basic human needs have been satisfied. During these four decades, starvation has completely vanished from the land and the State is taking giant strides towards providing comforts to the people. People enjoy the basic fundamental rights and have guaranteed freedom of expression, association and worship.

The occupied part of Kashmir presents a total contrast. When Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah along with Mirza Afzal Beg visited that part of Kashmir during President Ayub Khan's regime they were surprised

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to find the difference. The Muslims living on the other side had made no progress and their economic and social condition was the same as prevailed during the Maharaja's rule, the same schools, hospitals and bridges. This part of Kashmir was transformed into 'Naya Kashmir' only due to accession with India. The Jehad cry and Islam in danger slogan are raised to divert the attention of people from these stark realities.

Excelsior 22.3.1988

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3.10 JAGMOHAN ERA IN KASHMIR

Amongst the galaxy of Governors that Kashmir has seen on its horizon, Shri Jagmohan has been the Sun amongst the stars. History will record this period of five years which witnessed revolutionary changes and great upsurges in the State, as Jagmohan era, to be recorded in letters of gold. He became a beloved of entire population and particularly of the opposition in the State. Strong demands for Governor's rule were made by the people as they had experienced his functioning for the .period intervening between dismissal of G.M. Shah and restoration of Farooq's rule. People of the State, both Hindus and Muslims had developed tremendous love and respect for this man who gave them glimpses of what responsible Government means during his rule. Except for his insistence for the removal of then Director General of Police, Mr.M.M.Khajuria and grooming of some mullahs, his bright career became brilliant in J & K State. He must be feeling sorry for sacrificing Mr. Khajuria in the context of subsequent subversion in the State. February 1986 incidents in the valley changed the cource of his service otherwise he was tipped for Cabinet post as Minister of Urban Development and Housing at Delhi.

It was during his period that Kashmir came under President's rule for the first time since 1947. It was again during Governor's rule that Kashmiri people realised India's solicitude for the progress and prosperity of this State. There was allround intensive development activities which were never witnessed before. The much neglected Cities and Towns got a new deal. Roads were widened and improved, parks were established, encroachments removed and all this was achieved with a smile on the face and on the spot inspection. It was during this period that quality of development work was standardised and contractors found it difficult to use sub–standard material which was a general practice in Kashmir.

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REVERENCE FOR SHRI JAGMOHAN

In Kashmir, Sri Jagmohan was assisted by Mr.Hamid Ullah Khan and Ali Mohammad Watali. These two officers played a key role and they also learnt a lot by working with him. I am told that the Governor during that period would be ready at 8 A.M. and he would take his small lunch with him and walking on foot in almost all the villages and towns without stepping anywhere. By the fall of night, he would return to his residence with not even a trace of fatigue on his face. The officers accompanying him could not keep pace with his speed and they requested him to have an hour for lunch break. He would issue orders on the spot and would personally see their implementation within the fixed period. It was for the first time the people of Kashmir saw a man of the status of Governor mixing and mingling with common people and sharing their joys and sorrows. Only Bakshi Ghualm Mohammad could match him.

People of the State have great reverence for Shri Jagmohan not because he is an erudite scholar, a patriotic politician and an able administrator but for his passion for a clean administration which had remained a pipe dream for people of Kashmir. Besides the above virtues he is an internationally known Urban Development Planner and a keen environmentalist. He had fixed regular days and hours for public hearing. All those who petitioned the Governor returned satisfied with their problems solved. It was made strictly on merit and not a penny was spent by any one. Appointment orders reached the concerned and they were surprised to find that they got the job without greasing the palm and without any political favour. He created very healthy traditions regarding administration which were unfortunately discarded by his successor. He minimised the scope for nepotism and corruption. He axed several high officers on the ground of corruption and retired them pre-maturely. Had President's rule continued for its full term Kashmir would really have been transformed into a paradise on earth.

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GOVERNOR, NO - A MESSIAH !

I had the privilage of accompanying him to the riot hit villages of February, 1986. He was moved by the burning houses and the destroyed temples. Only Jagmohan could wipe out the tears of the teeming people who flocked round him as their redeemer. It was due to his dynamism that normalcy was restored and confidence regained. What he left undone is still at that stage. Not a brick has been added to the temples which could not be completed during that period. The Kashmir minority found a Messiah in his person. He removed the scars of arson ad loot of February, 1986 and stemmed the tide of minority exodus. It was for the first time that Kashmir after four hundred years, witnessed communal trouble engineered by a section of Congress(I) under the able guidance of Mufti Sayeed. Muslim, by and large, had remained aloof but the paid Congress(I) workers and fake freedom fighters were in the forefront of February, 1986 arsonists and looters. It was Shri Jagmohan who assuaged the feelings of Kashmiri Pandits and made them stick to their homes.

It was Shri Jagmohan who removed Dr.Farooq when he crossed the limits and indulged in anti-India rhetoric. It was again the same man who brought him back after Farooq realised his mistakes and repented for the lapses. He sought leave from his post as he was not satisfied with the working of Farooq Government. He submitted his reports to the Centre which were alarming. He has termed this Government as the "Bad Government" and held it responsible for the acts of subversion and terrorism. These reports contain a warning for India that unless serious steps are taken the situation would become still more bad. He was conversant with ins and outs of Kashmir politics and intimately understood "who is who" in Kashmir.

It is unfortunate for the State that he has been relieved at a time when his services were all the more required for improving the deteriorating law and order situation and rapidly falling moral standards of the administration. It was expected that Dr Farooq would benefit

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by the mature advice of this wizard of Kashmir affairs and run the administration on sound lines. While assuming the reins of administration Dr Farooq had promised to seek his guidance but things took a bad turn and their relations were once again strained. During the first four months of Dr Farooq's reinstatement, he would ask people to raise slogans of Jagmohan zindabad but shortly afterwards he got once again derailed and became a symbol of inefficient and corrupt Government. It is difficult to find a man of the elements of which Jagmohan is made to supervise the Government of J & K which is under constant threat posed by agents of enemy countries sitting on the borders of this sensitive State.

Samachar Post - 19.7.1987

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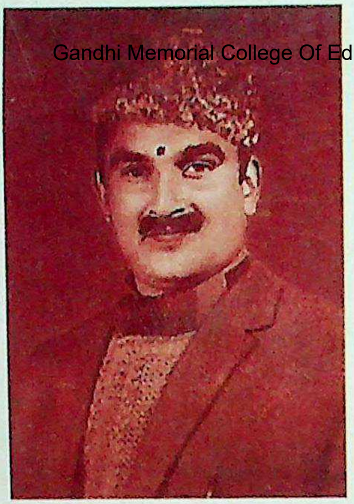

5.12.1932 27.12.1989

Shri Prem Nath Bhat, Advocate by Profession was an excellent Writer, Orator and above all a dedicated Missionary.

Swargiya "Bhat Saheb", as he was known popularly, was a thinker far ahead of his times. He had foretold certain happenings to occur and warned the Government and others concerned to take careful stock of the situation, which was prevailing in the valley, before the present turmoil could strangulate the peaceful atmosphere. This inner yearning, to save the country, cost him his life, when he was brutally assassinated by terrorrists in his home-town, Anantnag, in daylight on 27th December 1989.

During his life time he wrote articles on Kashmir which were published in various news papers, weeklies and magazines. The articles are relevant even now and so, this book on Kashmir - The Truth Foretold.

Prem Nath Bhat's articles, contemporaneously written, portraying facts and unfolding, at the cost of his life, the game plan of the subversives, expose the utter falsehood of the propaganda about induced migration, and also show how the negative forces operating at various levels and in diverse ways have caused immense damage to the country.

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JAGMOHAN, Former Governor, (J & K)